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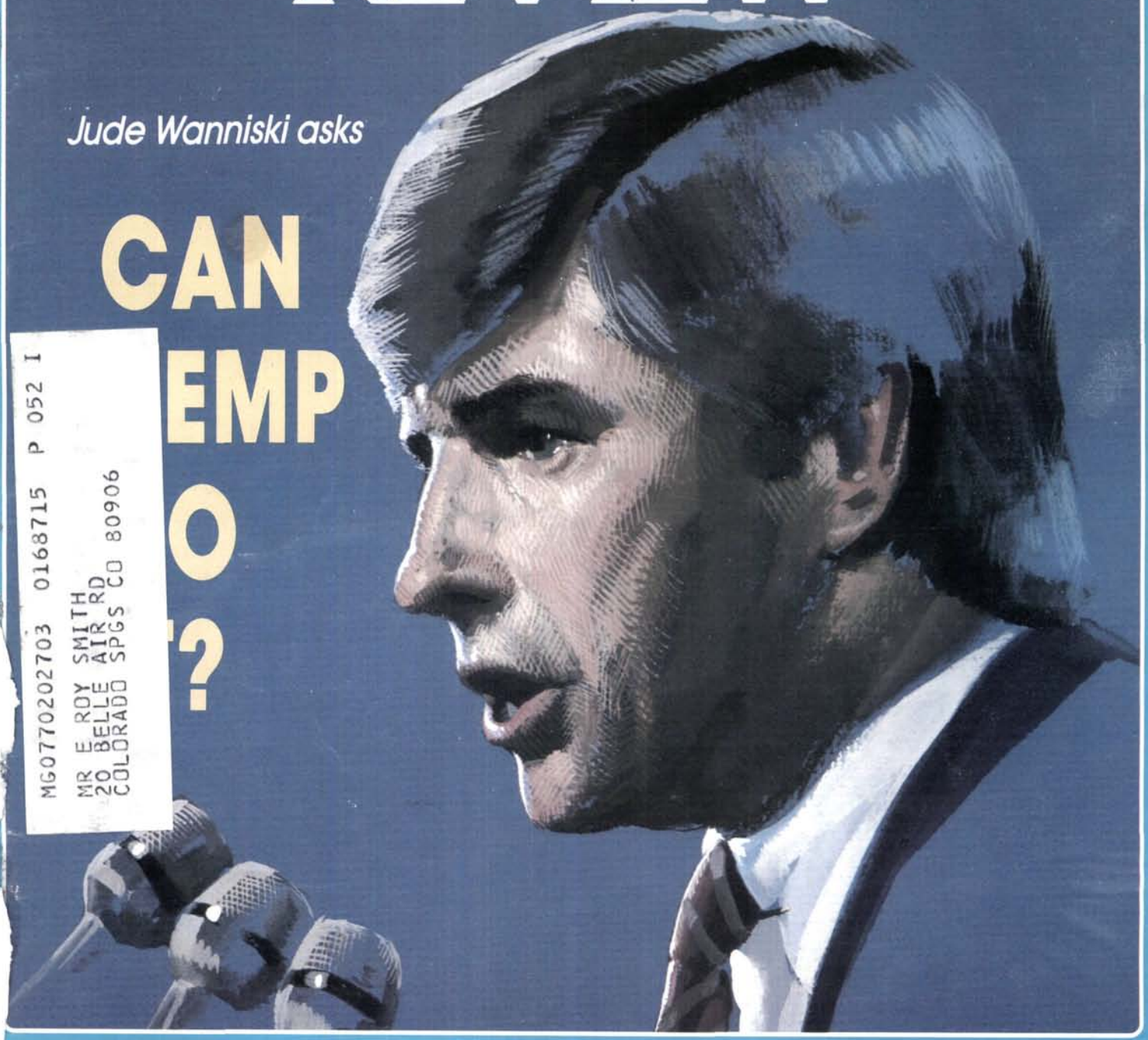

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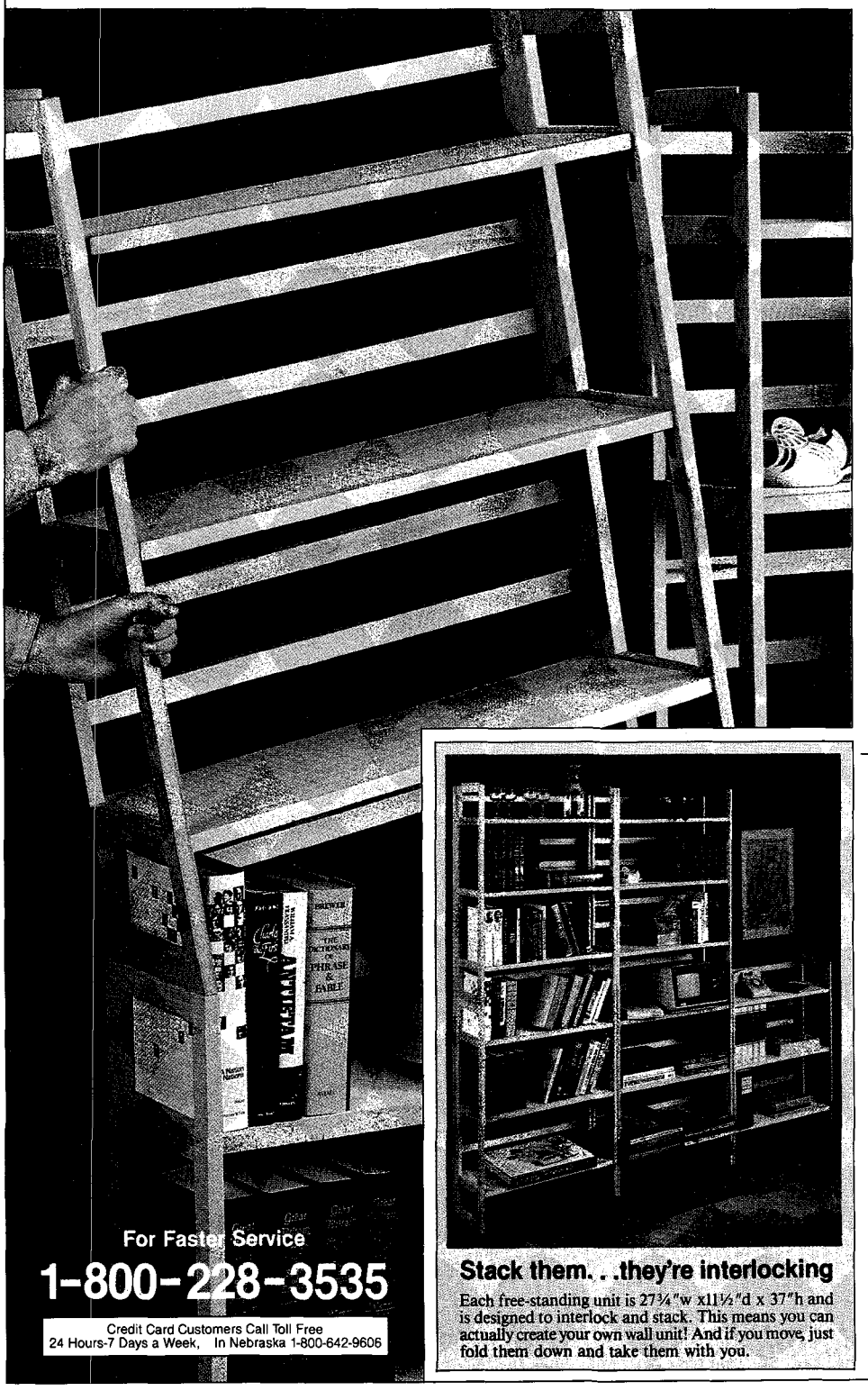

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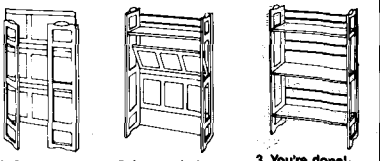

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LETTERS

Quit Whining

I can sympathize with Sobran and Waller's contempt for a Congress that doesn't *care* if its conduct helps the Soviets ["Congress's Red Army," July 31]. But *complaining* about a Red Congress or liberal media does more harm than good. Everyone knows CBS is bogus, but harping on it can be dangerous. Journalists accused too often of bias end up indulging that bias out of spite.

Bork will be nominated, North vindicated, and Bush elected. What are conservatives complaining about? We dominate all intellectual debate because liberalism is an aesthetic and no longer a political philosophy. Why dwell on the trendy media when that attention is precisely what gives it fuel?

Jason Dudenhoeffer
La Cañada, Calif.

(Luke)Warm-Water Port

I must take exception to the Persian Gulf policy you seem to be advocating in your July 3 issue, in "Pseudo-Crisis in the Persian Gulf" ["The Week"] and "On the *Stark* Front" ["On the Right"]. Both of these items tend toward an interventionist policy in the Persian Gulf, belittling the danger of such a policy and exaggerating its necessity.

The editorial asserts: "The United States has no choice but to defend free [*sic*] shipping in the Persian Gulf." It then quotes Stansfield Turner as saying that U.S. "credibility . . . in the Middle East would be shattered if we walked away from what we have . . . declared to be a 'vital national interest.'"

The fact is that less than 5 per cent of U.S. oil goes through the Gulf. Furthermore, we have free markets that can easily adjust supply to demand. So where is the "vital interest" of the U.S.? "Vital interest" seems to be nothing more than the faces that politicians are trying to save by pompous recitations of imperialistic slogans.

I would argue that the real "vital interest" of the United States is not to get caught again—as in the Vietnam episode—with extended military commitments that can only be fulfilled at a tremendous cost. What the United States needs is a defense that defends—that is, SDI, not this kind of dangerous public-relations jingoism over Persian Gulf shipping. Indeed, its worst aspect is that it gives the opponents of SDI something valid to shoot at.

Richard H. Timberlake
Athens, Ga.

Safe Mex?

George Byram Lake must be kidding when he hints ["Nothing Left to Steal," July 3] that the PRI might actually be in trouble in Mexico's next national election.

The PRI never loses an election, except as an occasional sop to the opposition. It does this by closely emulating the old Democratic machine in Chicago, which made sure of elections by stuffing selected ballot boxes. Don't kid yourselves: Mexico is as relentless a one-party state as any Soviet satellite.

L. Patrick Nelson
Roseville, Minn.

Safe Sickos

"The Week" [July 3] contains the comment, "The wonder is, nobody's advertising how to have safe intravenous drug abuse."

Would that it were so. I've read about clinics in California and in New York distributing small bottles of bleach and instructions about needle sterilization to IV drug addicts.

Apparently the important thing is to respect the lifestyles chosen by these people, and to ensure that they may pursue their illegal drug use with as much safety as possible.

Marie Lazzari
Northville, Mich.

Song and Dance

Your obituary on Fred Astaire [July 17], though well intended, was distasteful in characterizing his death as "nothing more than a historical note, of no importance" to those of us who didn't know him personally.

You also, in acknowledging Irving Berlin's high praise for Astaire's singing, gratuitously hasten to assure us that Berlin didn't mean what he said, that what he really liked about the singing was the dancing. Where did you get that? Has *NR* finally endorsed interpretation by penumbra?

In fact, both Berlin and Jerome Kern preferred Astaire to all other singers. Oscar Levant considered him the "best singer of songs the movie world has ever

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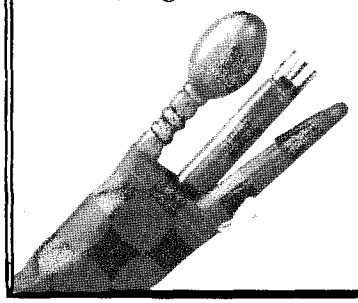

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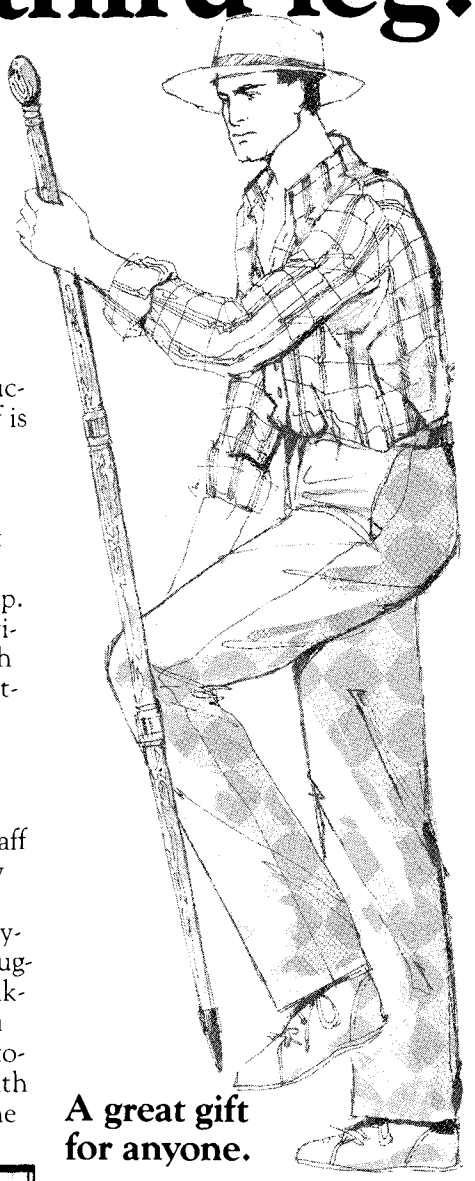

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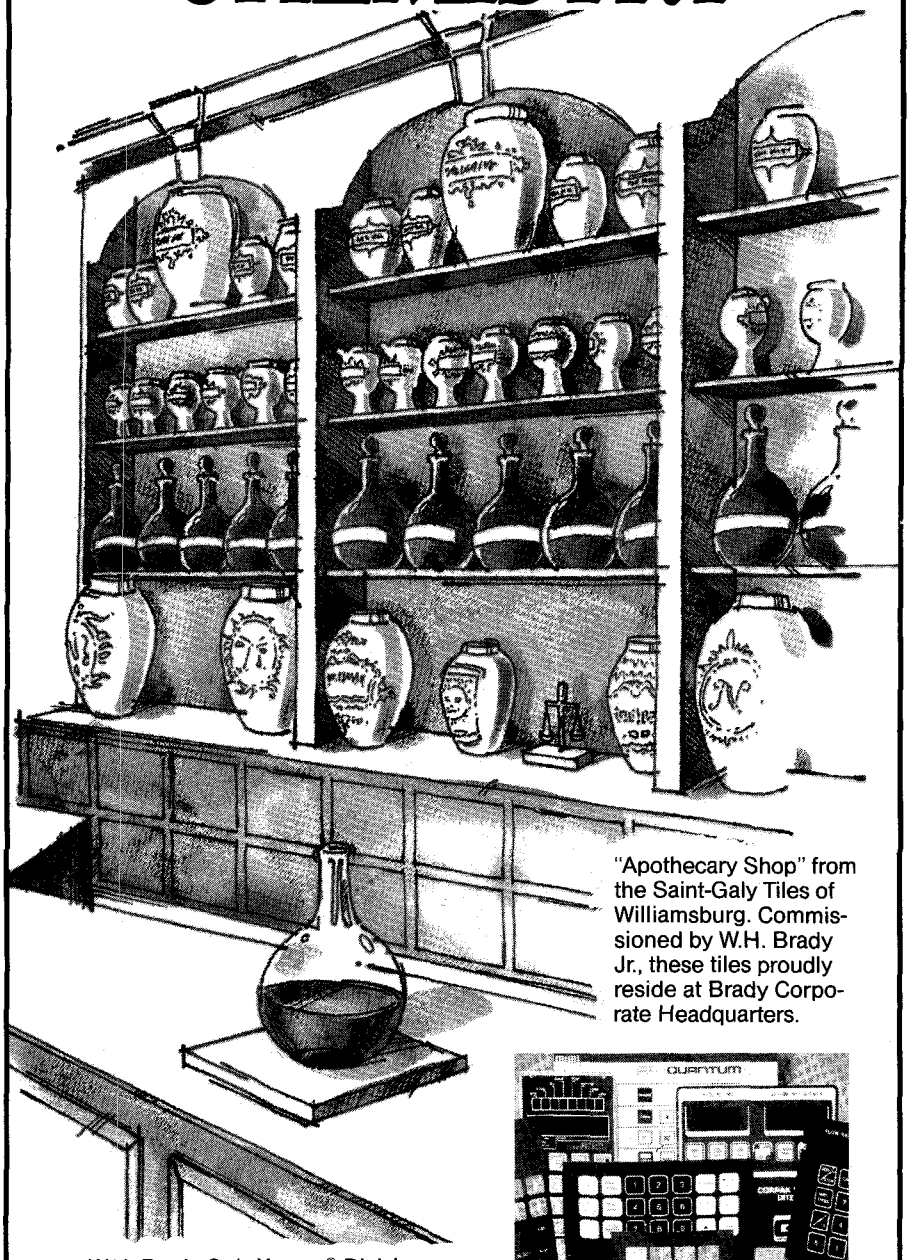

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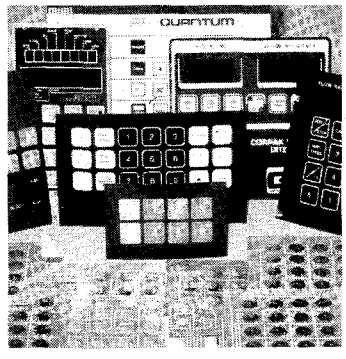

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known," and Burton Lane expressed similar feelings.

This is not hard to understand. For what Astaire lacked in voice quality he more than made up for with his wonderful, meticulous attention to rhythm, phrasing, timing, acting, and integrity of delivery.

Franklin A. Jaeckle
Arlington, Va.

Civil Whites

I enjoyed reading John Chamberlain's review of David Garrow's book about Martin Luther King [May 8]. I thought it might interest you to know that Martin Luther King Day coincides with a long-established state holiday in Alabama honoring Robert E. Lee. At first glance, the coincidence would appear to be a strange one. I think it is appropriate.

Remembered for the sensational moments, King was always at work to protect the civil-rights movement from violence. Lee spent the balance of his life after the Civil War promoting reconciliation.

Shortly after his return to Richmond from Appomattox, Lee was attending an Episcopal service when a newly freed black man was the first to present himself for Communion. The service skidded to an astonished halt until Robert E. Lee rose gravely and knelt beside the former slave. There are many examples of Lee's conduct that parallel the efforts of King toward unity.

David Scott Wright
Mobile, Ala.

Chivalry Is a Bitch

The next time I take Maggie Gallagher ["Letters," July 3] to dinner and a show I shall expect her to make the reservation; buy the tickets; pay the waiter, the cocktail waitress, the parking attendant; walk on the street side; see me to my door; offer to kiss me goodnight; and ask when she can see me again. And if she remonstrates, I shall oh so delicately and gently chide her, "Quit crying in your beer." I wonder whether she will ask me out again!

Ed Chynoweth
Sanger, Calif.

I feel misunderstood. Let me set the record straight: I like men. Men are not only necessary, they are wonderful. I am deeply appreciative of men who display the masculine virtues, a partial list of which might include duty, honor, country, courage, and chivalry. So sorry, but neither crying in one's beer nor kvetching about the high cost of dating counts.

—MG

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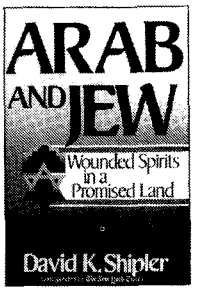

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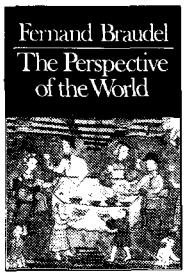

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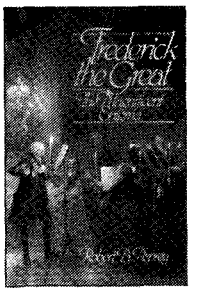

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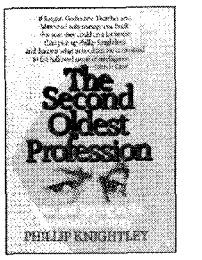

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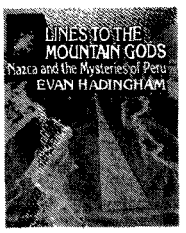

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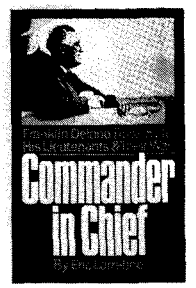

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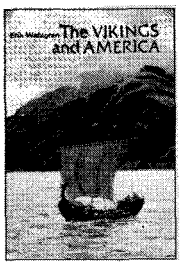

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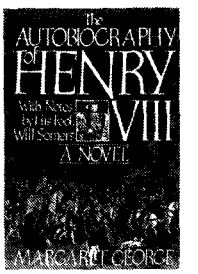

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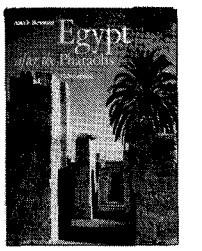

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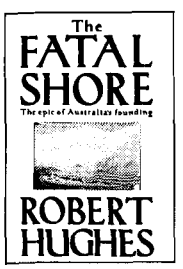

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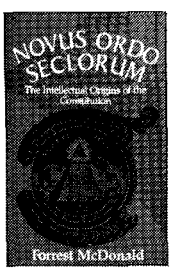

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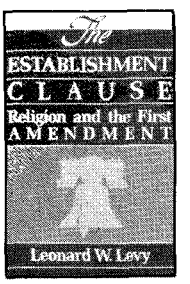

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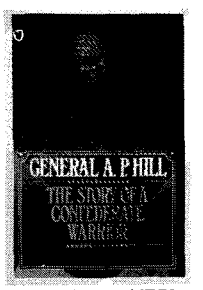

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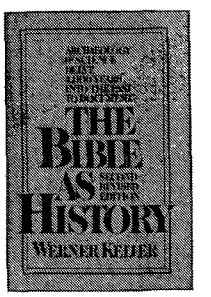

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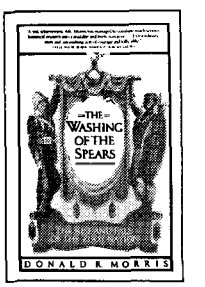

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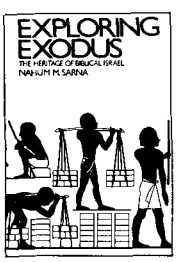

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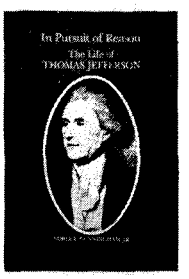

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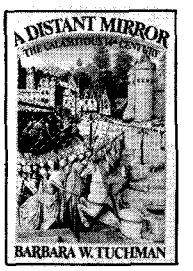

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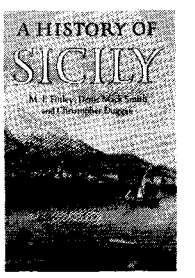

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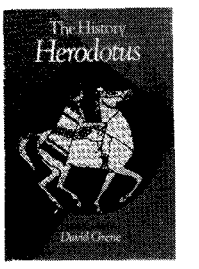

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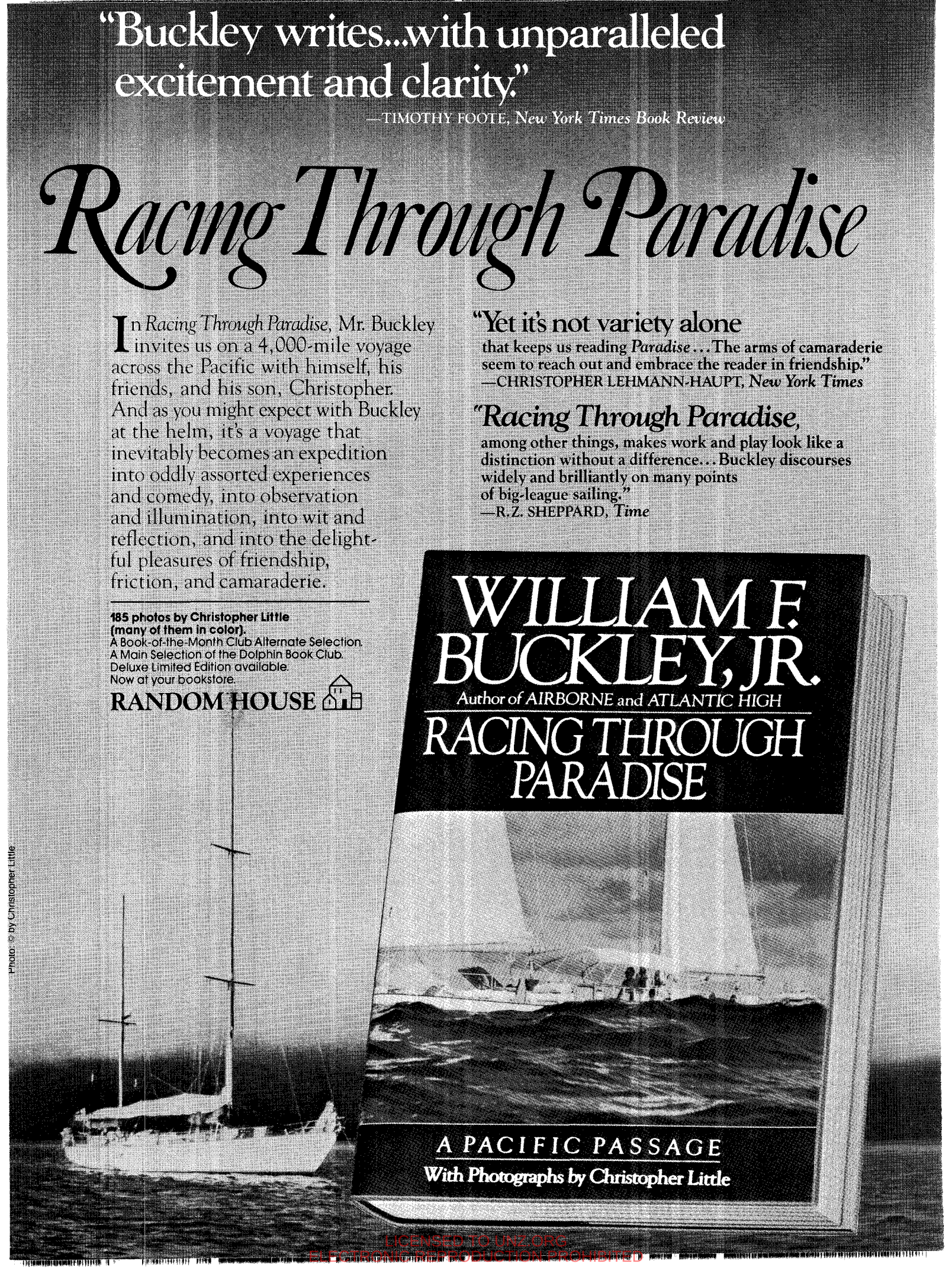
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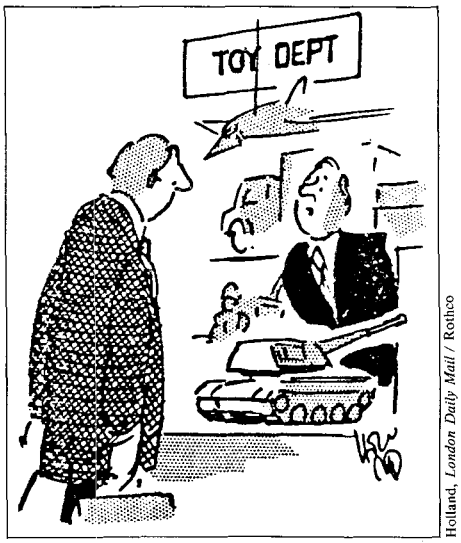
FOR THE RECORD

It was a hard, hard fortnight for Hill interrogators. As Admiral **John Poindexter** stepped down, Select Committee chairman **Daniel Inouye** confessed to doubts that the committee's report will include any critical assessment of the President. "We may say he might have been more prudent, but I don't think we will say he was guilty of malfeasance or nonfeasance." . . . To *Washington Post* columnist **Haynes Johnson** "it seems almost certain now that there will be no impeachment." . . . **Mary McGrory** was undone: "Support for the Contras has jumped twenty points in the polls. For five years, the public has opposed military aid, but in six days, **Ollie**, of the moist eyes and cracked voice, converted millions." . . . Right on. A post-Ollie *Washington Post*/ABC News poll showed 43 per cent of Americans favoring Contra aid, 46 per cent against, narrowing the spread to three points. Before North's testimony there had been a 38-point spread, with 67 per cent opposing Contra aid and only 29 per cent favoring it. . . . **Norman Lear** watched entranced: "TV eats up moist-eyed people. . . . At the moment it's eating up Ollie North. TV loves moist. The camera loves moist." . . . Former Contra leader **Arturo Cruz** loved it: "I think he's the best thing that has happened for the Contra movement." . . . "Oliver North may singlehandedly rescue the **Reagan** Presidency," chortled New Right leader **Richard Viguerie**. . . . As for North himself, *U.S. News* reports his name recognition is up there with **George Shultz**'s and Chief Justice **Rehnquist**'s, and his approval rating (at 43 per cent) is higher than that of any Democratic presidential candidate. . . . Assistant to the President for Policy Development **Gary Bauer** was moved to send $300 to the Oliver North Legal Assistance Fund. . . . To cap disastrous period for Contra bounty-hunters, Rep. **Charles Rangel** (D., N.Y.), chairman of House Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control, reports that "none of the witnesses" in hearings on possible Contra involvement in drug smuggling "gave any evidence that would show the Contra leadership was involved . . ." Committee member Rep. **William Hughes** (D., N.J.) said witnesses repeated tired old allegations heard for months. "They're just allegations."



Holland, *London Daily Mail* / Rothco

"It's most realistic, sir—it's very expensive and it doesn't work."

Behind the political hoopla, scattered polls of Democratic voters spell bad news for present Democratic field. A *Deseret News* poll asked Utah Democrats which candidate they preferred: Don't know, 39 per cent; nobody, 16 per cent; **Cuomo**, 13 per cent; **Bruce Babbitt**, 6 per cent. *Baltimore Sun* poll of Democrats shows 78 per cent undecided, followed by **Jackson**, 7; Cuomo, 3; **Biden**, 3. North Carolina's Long Marketing Poll says three leading Democrats are: **Nunn**, 21 per cent; Cuomo, 12; **Bill Bradley**, 11. None of the three is running. . . . *Washington Post* political analyst **David Broder** agrees that except for Jesse Jackson, "the men the Democratic state chairmen regard as the serious contenders for the nomination . . . are simply a blur to the voters." . . . Perhaps because in so much of their rhetoric they are indistinguishable from each other. Take the performance at mid-July Cleveland meeting of state Democratic chairmen. **Richard Gephardt**: "[North] put the Constitution of the United States through a shredder." **Michael Dukakis**: "We've got a bunch of conservatives in the White House who wouldn't know the rule of law if it hit them in the face." **Patricia Schroeder**: "[While the nation is celebrating the two-hundredth anniversary of the Constitution] Ollie North is down in the basement ripping it up."

Distancing himself from the flock on a number of matters is Sen. **Albert Gore Jr.** of Tennessee. He's the only one to come out for Reagan's reflagging policy in the Gulf, and he's adopted wait-and-see attitude on **Robert Bork**'s nomination to Supreme Court. At Cleveland meeting, Gore accused other six candidates, who are uniformly anti-Bork, of being like the Queen in *Alice in Wonderland*, who said: "First the verdict. Then the trial." Gore says he will decide how to vote after the hearings. . . . AFL-CIO president **Lane Kirkland**, worried about liberal overkill on Bork matter, has sent Mailgrams to all affiliated unions urging them to caution their senators not to be stampeded into hasty action against Bork. . . . Illinois Democratic state chairman **Vincent DeMuzio** is also worried. "This appointment," he says, "may be the most dangerous thing out there. I'm afraid we're going to send all our lightning rods out there"—civil-righters, feminists, pro-abortionists—"and it will afford the other side the opportunity to exploit it." . . . New Jersey Democratic chairman **Raymond Durkin** feels Bork confirmation hearings, which Joseph Biden will chair, could be Biden's Waterloo. "He has to be fair," says Durkin.

There'll always be an England. A spokesman for **David Owen**, the British Social Democratic leader, asked to comment on report that Liberal leader **David Steel** was trying to take over the two-party Alliance, replied: "They [the Liberals] combine the sensitivity of **Genghis Khan** with the tactical genius of **Ethelred the Unready**."

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THE WEEK

☐ The *Washington Post* wonders editorially how Robert Bork can get a fair hearing from the Senate Judiciary Committee, whose chairman, Blowhard Joe Biden, "has already cast himself in the role of a prosecutor instead of a juror." Others have suggested that Biden, as a presidential candidate with an obvious interest, should disqualify himself. Biden lamely says that though he goofed in announcing his opposition to Bork without giving his reasons, he'll still oppose him and may filibuster against him. Liberals used to denounce filibusters, back before they acquired a senator so eminently qualified to lead them in one.

☐ Okay, everyone now knows that they are out to get Meese. Poindexter insulated Reagan—terribly frustrating. North is a national hero—can't do anything to him. So you move down the line, and Meese has been elected to the post of cow in the Amazon River. The attack will take the form of, "Well, he hasn't been proved to have done anything wrong, but he has become so *controversial* that he has *lost effectiveness*." But this is one cow who has cast-iron skin, on which the piranhas will shatter their little teeth.

☐ Democratic members of the House of Representatives—don't blame us, the poll was taken by their own leaders—favor new or increased excise taxes, an income surtax, an oil import tax, and a stock-transfer tax.

☐ From the Accuracy in Media comment on the NBC *Nightly News* on July 1, the day of the Robert Bork nomination. Anchorman Tom Brokaw: "Robert Bork is probably best known for his role in firing Archibald Cox in the Saturday-night massacre during Watergate." (Mention No. 1 of this incident.) Over to Chris Wallace at the White House, who introduces 1) Ralph Neas, from whom we learn that Bork's appointment will turn the clock back on civil rights; 2) Kate Michelman, ditto on abortion rights; 3) Senator Howard Metzenbaum, who says many senators are "very upset" at the nomination; 4) Teddy Kennedy (clip)—"The man who fired Archibald Cox does not deserve to sit on the Supreme Court of the United States" (Mention No. 2); and, for balance, 5) Republican Senator Orrin Hatch. Hatch doubts the liberals will win the confirmation battle. Over to Carl Stern, NBC's man at Justice, who describes Bork as "a combative ex-Marine who has enjoyed doing battle against liberals in the courts and law schools for 25 years." Bork, he tells us, "obeyed President Nixon's order to fire Watergate special prosecutor Archibald Cox, after Attorney General Elliot Richardson resigned rather than do so." (Mention No. 3.) Over to John Chancellor, whose commentary asserts the Senate's right to reject Bork on purely ideological grounds. Comment: Were Brokaw, Wallace, Stern, and Chancellor too busy enlightening *Nightly News* groupies on the unacceptability of Bork to mention that when Elliot Richardson resigned, he urged Bork to stay on the job and carry out Nixon's order?

☐ The chasm continues to grow between ordinary black Americans and the activists and leaders who claim to represent them. New York City Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward (himself black) recently told an audience of black students and journalists at Columbia University that most crime in New York is committed by and against young black men: "We provide the victims, and we provide the perpetrators." More than two dozen student activists were on their feet throughout the speech, hissing, calling him an Uncle Tom, and holding up banners accusing him of complicity with racism. Democratic Representative Charles Rangel of Harlem echoed the students' jeers and complained that Ward was not "contributing to racial harmony in New York." The next day, though, the commissioner took his case to

On Dwarfism

Growth hormones ordered early on
May add an inch to Jean or John,
But for those Democrats who still
Can't quite reach up to Jack and Jill,
Some stilts might help promote a quote,
Though then they'd lose the midget vote.

W. H. VON DREELE

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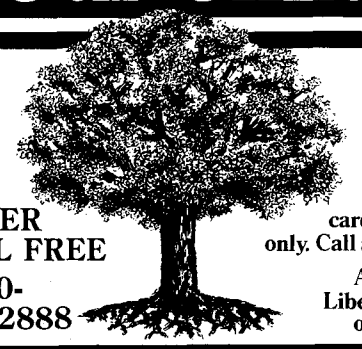

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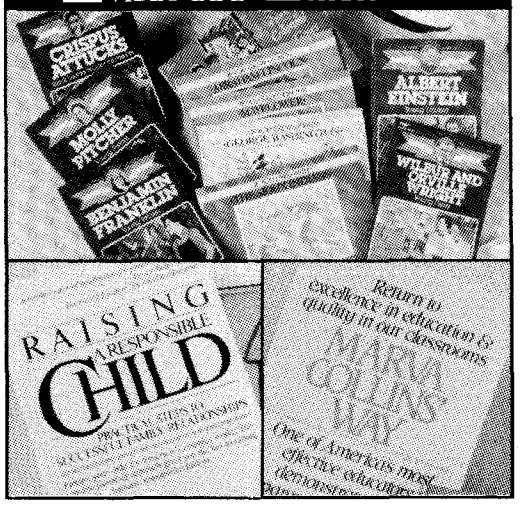

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

THE IRAN-CONTRA hearings turned Oliver North into a national figure, but did precious little for North's inquisitors. Committee chairman Daniel Inouye's image is now that of a hanging judge, thus lowering the Hawaii senator's chances for the Majority Leader slot, which he was expected to seek. Inouye's House counterpart, Lee Hamilton, was seen as fairer. Texas Representative Jack Brooks was scathingly critical of his panel colleagues, accusing them of caving in to North's demands, and so hurt himself with the viewing public. But since he is an erratic law unto himself, he probably suffered little political damage within the House. Presumed presidential hopeful Sam Nunn had the opportunity to gain the national recognition he would need for an '88 bid. But Democratic observers say he forsook that chance with his low-key approach. Only one Democrat, Senator George Mitchell, is viewed by both Republicans and Democrats here as emerging from the hearings with a higher standing in the Senate. That luster could help Mitchell pose a strong challenge to any leadership bid by Inouye.

Republicans did not escape the hearings unspattered, either. Suffering the most damage was freshman Virginia Senator Paul Trible, who, ironically, was put on the panel to boost his popularity back home. Although outspoken, Trible tacked now this way, now that, shifting with all the political gusts—"a tower of Jello," observed political columnist Fred Barnes. Another damaged Republican is Senator Warren Rudman, whose grandstanding lost him the respect of GOP insiders. The GOP resented, especially, Rudman's joint appearance with Inouye on *Face the Nation*, where Inouye stated that a memo proved Poindexter had briefed Reagan on the diversion of funds—this before Poindexter had appeared before the panel in public session.

Republicans who defended Reagan came out the winners, notably Representatives Bill McCollum (Fla.), Henry Hyde (Ill.), Jim Courter (N.J.), Richard Cheney (Wyo.), and William Broomfield (Mich.), and Senators Orrin Hatch (Utah) and James McClure (Idaho).

After all the brouhaha subsides, legislators might reflect on North and ponder that the circle of limelight has a radius wide enough for only one true star.

House Democrats who have been pointing holier-than-thou fingers at the ethics of Reagan appointees ought to beware. Ten Democrats in the House of Representatives, including House Speaker Jim Wright and two other members of the leadership, have been charged with crimes or ethical misdeeds.

New York's Mario Biaggi and Tennessee's Harold Ford, both former subcommittee chairmen, have been indicted; Biaggi is charged with using his office to influence federal and local officials; Ford, with bank, mail, and tax fraud. The press also reports that Jim Wright has interfered with federal investigations of a Texas savings-and-loan officer and tried to stop foreclosures of loans for two other S&Ls. Two of these Texans contributed to Democratic candidates. One of them "loaned" a Texas S&L association's Potomac-docked yacht to Majority Whip Tony Coelho to raise funds for his own campaign for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. (Coelho has since admitted the "loan," and the committees have paid almost $50,000 in charter fees.)

Republican Congressman Newt Gingrich has embarked on a lonely crusade to clean up the House. Recently he released a list of ten offending House Democrats, criticized the House Ethics Committee for failing to check out irregularities, and contemned the white-washing of alleged abuses of funds by Fernand St. Germain, chairman of the House Banking Committee.

With a handful of allies, Gingrich introduced an amendment asking for an outside commission to investigate ethics abuses. Not unexpectedly, the House soundly defeated the amendment, 297 to 77. "Members do watch out for other members, you know," says a Republican National Committee political director. "They shudder at the thought of investigating one another." Even more loathsome to the lawmakers is the idea of a stranger, like a member of an outside commission, poking into congressional affairs.

But Gingrich is right: House Republicans are missing the boat. "The House Ethics Committee has been letting everyone off the hook," says the editor of a Democratic political newsletter. "The Republican move may push some of the committee members to come down on someone." To take the wind out of Gingrich's sails, the committee is rumored to be casting around for a sacrificial victim to scrutinize. If a small band of Republicans can prod the committee into action with a little criticism, a larger group of Republicans might well have given this legitimate issue enough momentum to benefit the party as a whole. —CATO

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the people. Speaking to an audience at the Mount Carmel Baptist Church in Brooklyn's heavily black Bedford-Stuyvesant district, he received just the opposite response. His declaration that "our little secret is out of the box" drew loud applause and filled the church with choruses of "Amen." It's time for black political leaders to start listening to their constituency.

☐ The Iran-Contra hearings have treated Americans to a rare view of the liberal old-boy network at its coziest. During coverage of Admiral Poindexter's testimony, ABC's Brett Hume introduced Democratic Representative Edward Boland (author of the Boland Amendment) as "Eddie Boland, whom people in this town affectionately refer to as 'Eddie.'" Moments later, Republican Representative Bob Dornan (a principal supporter of the Nicaraguan Contras) appeared on the screen, and neither Hume nor anchorman Peter Jennings could even remember his name.

☐ In 1985, when President Reagan was looking for a new Secretary of Health and Human Services to replace Margaret Heckler, conservatives hoped he

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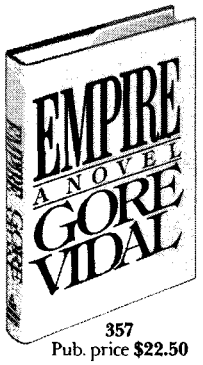

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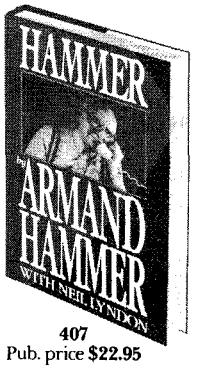

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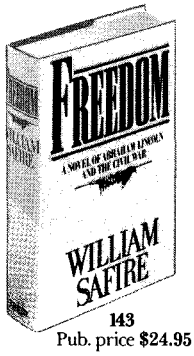

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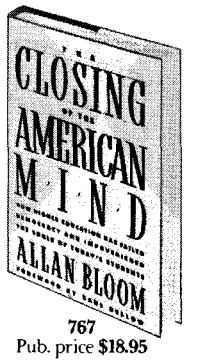

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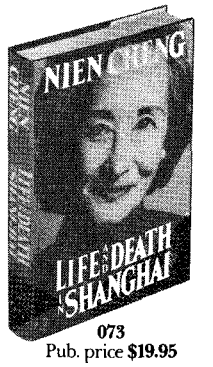

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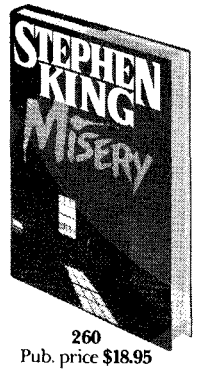

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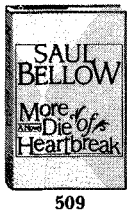

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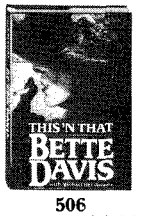

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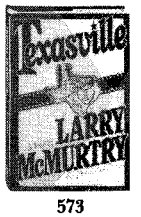

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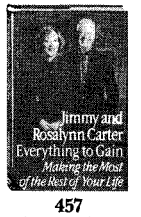

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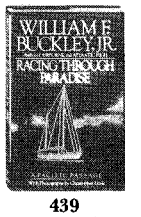

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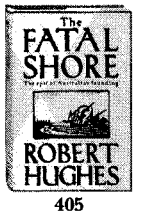

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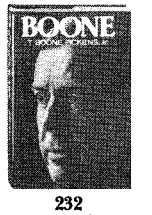

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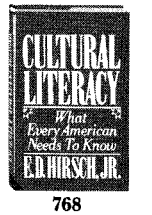

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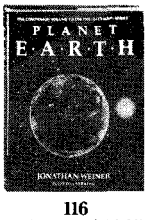

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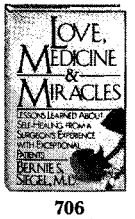

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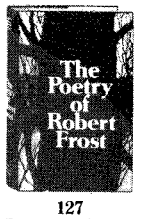

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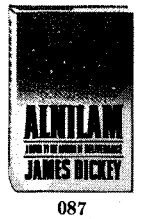

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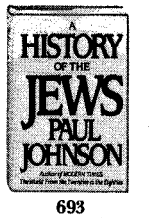

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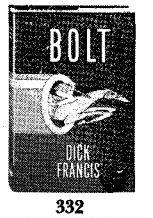

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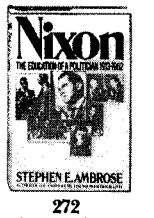

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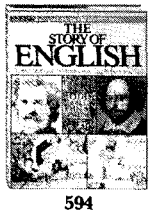

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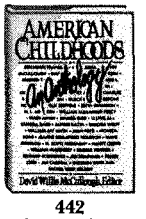

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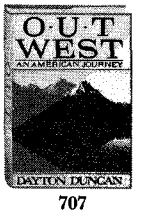

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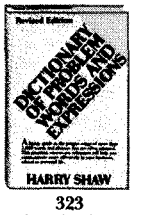

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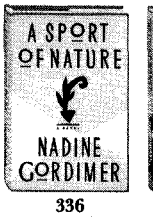

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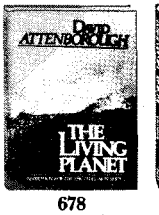

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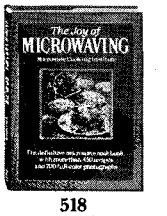

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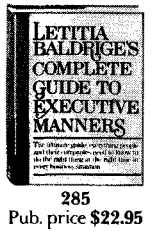

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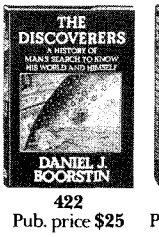

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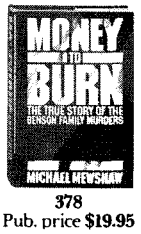

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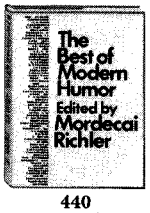

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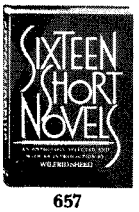

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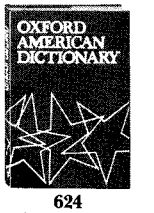

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SDI Watch

DURING THE RECENT *Firing Line* appearance by seven Democratic presidential candidates, Senator Gore referred to the 423-page report on SDI from the American Physical Society as if it were holy writ. In fact, the report is riddled with serious errors, and always in one direction—to make the defense of America against Soviet missiles seem harder than it actually is. Senator Gore and his colleagues have been taken in.

Recently a group of 33 congressmen wrote to the president of the American Physical Society to ask how he reconciled these errors in the report with the supposed competence of his panel.

The response from the American Physical Society is now in; it compounds the sins of the original document. The response is a smokescreen of jargon that generally avoids dealing with the substance of the damaging criticism.

The shielding of Soviet missiles against our lasers is a prime example. If Soviet missiles could be shielded by a protective coating, SDI lasers would be useless. The APS report says the Soviets can shield their ICBMs without much difficulty.

But the whistle-blowers pointed out a serious error in the APS report.

The point here is the weight of the shielding. If the shielding is too heavy, the Soviet missile cannot get off the ground. How did the APS calculate the weight of the shielding? Its method would make a high-school physics student blush.

The right way to do it is first to figure the thickness of the shielding you need and then figure the surface area of the missile. That tells you the total weight of the shielding to be slapped on. A house-painter figures his requirements in the same way: He estimates the area of the house's walls, and that tells him the number of gallons of paint he needs.

But the APS calculated the amount of shielding required from the *weight* of the missile. That is like a house-painter weighing a house to estimate the number of gallons of paint he needs.

The APS error makes a big difference. According to the erroneous APS calculation, an SS-18—the most fearsome first-strike weapon in the Soviet arsenal—would lose at most three of its ten warheads, to compensate for the weight of the shielding. The correct calculation, done by the house-painter's rule, reveals that the SS-18 would lose about seven out of ten warheads, ending its usefulness as a first-strike weapon—a big plus for U.S. security.

When this error was called to the attention of the APS by the whistle-blowers, the response was that the panel was only trying to present "a general methodology . . . keeping in mind that the fundamental purpose of the group's work is tutorial."

Tutorial! The report did not land on the front page of the *New York Times* because it was a physics textbook—an error-riddled textbook at that. Its conclusions were not presented for classroom use, but as a critical commentary on SDI technologies—offered by "eminent men of science," as the *New York Times* noted—and intended to illuminate what is arguably the most important defense decision this country has ever had to make in its history.

The APS report, and the dishonest responses to the criticisms of its serious errors, are a mounting embarrassment to the American Physics community and a disservice to Senator Gore and his colleagues.

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would pick someone who would carry out the unfinished social agenda. Instead Otis Bowen, a former governor of Indiana, was tapped. He has hardly distinguished himself. His top priority has been catastrophic-illness insurance, not exactly the Administration's high-water mark. Meanwhile, on matters that are critically important to the Administration, Bowen himself is catastrophic. His latest delinquency is his battle over abortion funding with Deputy Assistant Secretary of HHS Jo Ann Gasper. Congress has prohibited the use of federal money to finance abortions. Mrs. Gasper, in accordance with President Reagan's stated wishes, set out to extend the prohibition to groups like Planned Parenthood, which administer abortions, even if they technically keep the federal grant money in a separate account. Mrs. Gasper had been fighting a low-key bureaucratic battle with Bowen for several months. On July 2, Bowen fired her for refusing to release this year's appropriation to Planned Parenthood. Bowen asserts that he is as opposed to abortion as President Reagan; but the score is still: Planned Parenthood 1, Pro-lifers 0. Meanwhile, Senator Gordon Humphrey has risen to Mrs. Gasper's defense, accusing Bowen of "thwarting the President's policies." The latest announcement from the White House, that a gay medical professor will sit on the President's AIDS panel, makes it unlikely that Bowen will be ordered to comply with Administration policy.

☐ William Sloane Coffin has finally gone straight: After years of politicking from the pulpit, the Reverend will now devote himself full-time to "the pursuit

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of social justice." The Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Committee, on the run since President Reagan embraced the Strategic Defense Initiative, are merging into SANE/Freeze, and they've tapped Coffin as their president. Having done his best from 1958 to 1976 to make Yale uninhabitable, Mr. Coffin went to the Riverside Church on Manhattan's Upper West Side, where he engaged busily in propaganda for unilateral disarmament plus assorted activities on behalf of illegal immigrants and gays. He leaves Riverside with a $1.2-million deficit in its $7.4-million budget. In his new post, Dr. Coffin will give speeches across the country on disarmament, hunger, poverty, and every affliction in Christendom you can think of, save the meddlesome preacher.

☐ Ironies abound in the escalating hostage crisis between France and Iran. France, once quick to scoff at American naïveté in dealing with terrorist states, has suddenly learned that the game is not so easy to play. Iran, in a world-class act of hypocrisy, declares that it will not allow its diplomats to be held hostage. Premier Chirac's attempt to gain influence in Iran, coming on the heels of President Reagan's own misbegotten effort, recalls a statement of the Soviet ambassador to Teheran in the 1930s. The Iranians, he said, would take money from anyone, "From the British today and from the Russians tomorrow, or from the French or the Germans, or anybody else. But they will never do anything for the money. You can buy their country from them six times over, but you will never get it." Today it is arms instead of money, and Shiite frenzy instead of Persian perspicacity. Otherwise, the odds of a bargain rug deal have not changed.

☐ Europe's hard-luck Socialists took another licking last week when Aníbal Cavaco Silva's Center-Right Social Democrats won a majority of the votes (51 per cent) and a stunning 147 seats in the 250-seat Portuguese parliament. It was the fifth major defeat for the Socialists in two years: in France, Germany, Italy, Great Britain, and now Portugal. Portugal has had 17 coalition governments in the 13 years since the overthrow of the Salazarist dictatorship. But now it can look ahead to three to four years of political stability, and Cavaco Silva promises to turn his attention to rewriting the Socialist post-1974 constitution that called for sweeping nationalization of Portugal's infrastructure and resulted in sweeping deficits and inflation. The Socialists got about as many votes this time as last, 22 per cent, while the Communists on the Left and the Christian Democrats on the Right took a nosedive.

☐ The victory of Prime Minister Bob Hawke's Labor Party in the recent Australian elections was a setback for the Right in Australia but a strategic plus for the United States. Hawke, unlike New Zealand's Labor Prime Minister David Lange, is a sturdy and dependable ally of the United States who has readily opened Australia's ports to U.S. naval vessels with or without nuclear arms. Lange has, of course, barred nuclear-armed ships from New Zealand, which led to the break-up of the Anzus alliance. Domestically, Hawke has moved right in his first two terms in office. In British terms he is a Harold Wilson Laborite to David Lange's Neil Kinnock.

☐ "Mr. North," says Jesse Jackson, "puts loyalty, lust, ambition, and zeal over law, truth, and justice." The whole sentence is on the far side of coherence; still, what's "lust" doing in there? Has the First Amendment revoked all limits on jive b.s.?

☐ Don't be too hard on Amy Carter, who's been dropped from Brown for academic reasons. Maybe what she was really doing at the barricades with Abbie Hoffman was fleeing her courses: Linguistics, Plant Biology, Native American Literature, and Feminist Frameworks.

☐ POINTS TO PONDER: From *Time*'s July 27 cover story on Gorbachev's reforms: "Sustained economic improvement will be impossible unless he can energize the . . . masses."

☐ Tell that guy that if he hits one of our ships he can kiss the Holy City of Qum good-bye. (Corresponding Secretary, THE COMMITTEE FOR A CAN-DO FOREIGN POLICY.)

The Hearings, and After

IN TWO AND A HALF WEEKS, it seemed, the world turned around. Admiral Poindexter, emotional as a Frigidaire, explained that, no, President Reagan did not know about the now-famous diversion. Lieutenant Colonel North, who was anything but cool, explained what he had been doing and why. The Left's best hope of pinning a wrong on Reagan vanished, while the cause of the Contras was measurably advanced.

All during those weeks, the press and the pols tried mightily to put a better spin on events that were spinning out of control. Senator Inouye lectured Colonel North soberly about Nuremberg. The Democratic presidential candidates got in their licks at a cattle show in Cleveland: "Oliver North is *not* a hero" (Paul Simon); "North put the Constitution through the shredder" (Richard Gephardt); "Our political system generally sees that justice is done" (Michael Dukakis, speaking of Joe McCarthy). But the blue ribbon for damage control surely goes to the *New York Times*, which on July 12 ran, at the top of page one, a posed

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picture of Senate counsel Arthur Liman holding a staffer's child, as comfortably as if it were a sack of peat moss . . . Well, sorry, Senator; tough luck, dwarfs; so long, Arthur. You were the ones who wanted a show. The actors just wouldn't read their lines.

All of which should not distract us from several basic points. The first is that there is still a war going on in Nicaragua, and the Contras are not winning. They need increased American assistance. Pat Buchanan has suggested $500 million; we see him, and raise him; certainly it is absurd to send less than the Corporation for Public Broadcasting gets. They also need, as Max Singer argued ("Can the Contras Win?" *NR*, Feb. 13), a concerted American political offensive, designed to isolate the Sandinistas in the same way that Somoza was isolated before his fall. In this connection, a poll conducted by Gallup's Central American affiliate in January is worth recalling. The pollsters asked people in four Central American countries their opinion on aspects of the Nicaraguan question. When they asked, Which side do the Nicaraguan people support? they got these responses: *Sandinistas:* 23 per cent (Guatemala), 20 per cent (El Salvador), 14 per cent (Honduras), 12 per cent (Costa Rica). *Contras:* 46 per cent (El Salvador), 60 per cent (Guatemala), 72 per cent (Costa Rica), 75 per cent (Honduras). (For obvious reasons, there was no polling in Nicaragua.) When the question was American military aid to the Contras, the answers came back like this: *Disapprove:* 28 per cent (Guatemala), 23 per cent (El Salvador), 21 per cent (Costa Rica), 9 per cent (Honduras). *Approve:* 68 per cent (Guatemala), 69 per cent (El Salvador), 70 per cent (Costa Rica), 81 per cent (Honduras). That sentiment has to be consolidated regionally, then used to leverage hemispheric, and world, opinion. If the State Department won't do it, Reagan needs a new one.

There also has to be a political offensive at home. The Administration's Central American policy should not have had to wait two years for a lieutenant colonel of the Marines to present it forcefully. No American President has willingly acquiesced in the establishment of foreign salients in this hemisphere (we do tolerate Cuba—unwillingly). The danger is real and present, and the precedents for removing it are old and honorable. Reagan has to make that plain to the American people.

In the course of doing so, he must brand the Democratic Party for what it is—the Sandinistas' Washington affiliate. Most Democrats (even most Democrats in Congress) do not feel this way, perhaps. But the Party as a whole has let its Central American agenda be set by a hard-core pro-Sandinista coterie, many of them graduates of the New (Tom Harkin) or Old (George Crockett) Left. Since the party has let them take the lead on the issue, it is fair to bash the party as a whole for it.

Go ahead, Mr. President. There have to be more people on the Contras' side than Colonel North and Admiral Poindexter.

The Uncivil War

IN HIS TESTIMONY, Colonel North put his finger on a key factor in the equation: *leaks.*

First of all, multitudes in the government do it—legislature, executive, judiciary. How, otherwise, could *The Final Days* or *The Brethren* have been written? How could a Washington column be written?

The leaks have multiple motives. You in effect *bribe* the media people with your inside information. This helps them professionally with a scoop, unattributed. From your point of view, you have them on the hook—you can cut them off, and they know it. They will treat you well.

But there are more sinister, more ideological leaks. If you are on the staff of a Communoid congressman like Dellums or Crockett, you are *for* the Sandinistas and you are *for* the Communists in El Salvador. It goes without saying. You will use leaks in your desire to advance your cause, never mind that leaks cost lives. This sort of leaking is a symptom of the uncivil war we are in, *here.* There is no chance that we will, soon, have a bi-partisan foreign policy. People like North and Poindexter "lie" to Congress because about 25 congressmen have, in effect, the "800" numbers of the folks in Havana and Managua.

Crockett and the Patriots

SEVERAL DOZEN Democrats have now made the point that it's possible to love this country every bit as much as Ollie North does without supporting the Nicaraguan resistance. What we want to know is, Can you love this country as much as Ollie North does while supporting George Crockett?

In our July 31 issue, J. Michael Waller and Joseph Sobran took note of the Democrats' sharp leftward shift, the clearest sign of which is their choice of Crockett, for whom "fellow-traveler" would be too coy a term, to chair the House Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs. The post gives Crockett all sorts of influence over American foreign policy, along with access to sensitive classified information.

Others are noticing too. John Rees, writing in the June issue of *Conservative Digest,* takes the Crockett case as a clear sign that the ideological Left has taken over the Democratic Party. So does David Brock in the August *American Spectator.* Both add plenty of confirming data to the Waller-Sobran piece; there is apparently an ocean of information still waiting to be reported.

Crockett's career warrants a book, not just an arti-

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My Little Patch of Blue

The buck stopped with the admiral;
  There was no smoking gun.
Dan Rather and Tom Brokaw, who
  Had hoped to see some fun,
Look listless, while Sam Donaldson
  Still pokes among the coals
In desultory fashion, as
  He mutters at the polls.

W. H. VON DREELE

cle. His ties with Communists and front groups defy cataloguing. In 1949, as a lawyer for Communist Party leaders charged with advocating the overthrow of the U.S. Government, he told the jury that "the Communist Party is in truth and in fact the conscience of America" (even as Crockett himself is now "the conscience of Congress," according to Ann F. Lewis of Americans for Democratic Action). During the Sixties he was reportedly a registered agent for Castro's Cuba. The Party newspaper hailed his landslide re-election last year as "particularly significant." And he has used his chairmanship to advance the cause of Communism, especially in Nicaragua: He invited the parents of Benjamin Linder to testify before his subcommittee, and uncritically accepted the Sandinista account of how Linder had died.

"I don't think I'm any more liberal than the majority of the full Foreign Affairs Committee," Crockett has said. He may have a point there. It's notable that the chairman of the corresponding subcommittee in the Senate is Christopher Dodd, hailed by the Sandinistas as a "friend of our revolution."

Crockett may also be no more liberal than Congressmen David Bonior, John Conyers, and Ted Weiss, D.C. Delegate Walter Fauntroy, and Senator Claiborne Pell, all of whom endorsed or marched in the National Mobilization demonstration in April, among whose sponsors was the Communist Party. True, Ollie North didn't join them, but we each express our love for this country in our own way.

One thing is clear, though: If George Crockett had shown half as much sympathy for Reaganism as he's shown for Communism, the Democrats would never have given him that chairmanship.

Kemp for President?

NATIONAL REVIEW and the conservative movement —at least, that part of it whose livelihood does not depend on politics—have refrained, so far, from coalescing behind a candidate for the 1988 presidential election. This reticence has, perhaps as much as anything else, fed the impression that the Republican race consists of Bush, in front and on the rail; Dole, hanging on Bush's shoulder; and the rest of the field, nowhere. An impression substantially the same as that registered in the polls.

Jude Wanniski argues in this issue (see p. 28) that the race, so far from being a Bush-Dole duel, is wide open; indeed, that Jack Kemp is, in crucial respects, ahead. Wanniski writes as a Kemp booster. Objective observers may note that, as far as the it's-all-wrapped-up talk goes, we have all learned the lesson of 1972 and 1976, which was that the early bird—George McGovern, Jimmy Carter—has a powerful advantage. But now everyone is an early bird; and commentators and candidates may have to revise conventional wisdom in the light of the lesson of 1980 and 1984: that there can be late surprises, too (Reagan and Hart in New Hampshire), some of which carry all the way to the White House.

This is gamesmanship, election-watching for the addicted. But there are also solid, substantive reasons why conservatives should keep Jack Kemp on their lists—indeed, at the top of their lists. For ten years, from a political base no greater than an unremarkable congressional district in upstate New York, Jack Kemp has set the conservative agenda—and the national political agenda as well. Kemp has taken the right positions, often long before anyone else: He was talking tax-rate cuts before the Gipper, and was an early advocate of SDI; he has been voting against federally subsidized abortions approximately forever. He articulates his political program with energy and conviction. The mistakes he has made can be counted on one hand.

A sign of conservatism's maturity as a political movement is that it no longer needs iconic candidates—Ronald Reagan, or AuH_2O. We can afford to stand back and choose among the field—to seek, in John Kenneth Galbraith's formulation (suitably transformed), the rightwardmost viable candidate. The Republican field now assembled is a good one. The best man in it is Jack Kemp. So long as he is viable, which he emphatically is, the race is wide open.

NOW Now

WHEN THE National Organization for Women held its 21st annual convention in Philadelphia last month, the media obliged with heavy coverage. Eleanor Smeal stepped down, and NOW elected a new president, an old leftist named Molly Yard.

The *New York Times* delicately noted that the convention was held "at a time when some are questioning whether NOW represents a broad spectrum of American women."

You be the judge. NOW's current agenda includes: impeaching Reagan; stopping Bork; and enacting a

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Senator Inouye Sits It Out

He voted No on Contra aid
Because, as he explains,
He feared Americans would soon
Be pulled in for their pains.
While others cheered the colonel, he
Sat silent in the stand,
And may, like Buddha, sit there till
Reds reach the Rio Grande.

W. H. VON DREELE

new ERA, equal pay for comparable work, and lesbian and gay rights.

All very progressive. NOW is, in fact, the ladies' auxiliary of the Left-lib community, and as such enjoys a sort of diplomatic recognition by the like-minded major media as the parliament of the "women's movement." By contrast, Concerned Women for America has a much larger membership but, being conservative, doesn't get anything like equal media attention for comparable work. NOW, unlike CWA, is Politically Correct. And predictable. Its positions on "women's issues" belong to a comprehensive ideology that also dictates the usual stance on arms control, Central America, apartheid, and all that.

Only one presidential candidate addressed the NOW convention: Pat Schroeder. She was a big hit, and raised enough money from the delegates to qualify for federal matching campaign funds. Her speech sounded like the squawk of a she-Kennedy: "Bork is trying to undo everything America stands for, trying to move into our bedroom, dictate our religions. What right do the President and Edwin Meese, with the clouds hanging over their heads, with the scandals everywhere, have to lock up the Court for 25 years?" She's going to make some Democrat a right fetching running-mate.

Taxing Patience

CONGRESSIONAL DEMOCRATS want to raise your taxes by $19 billion, or 2 per cent, but they are being cagey about how they plan to do that. In exchange, they are willing to cut defense spending by 3.1 per cent, non-defense spending by 1.2 per cent.

The amount of the tax increase is not the issue. Nobody would argue that $19 billion would make much difference in a $4.4-trillion economy (though there are some taxes that can indeed do great damage while yielding little or no revenue). Tax increases are, instead, a matter of principle. If the precedent is set, and the President forced to capitulate, then much greater plans are in store. Speaker Jim Wright has exposed some of these plans by suggesting that we renege on the lower tax rate, tax stock transactions, and impose an oil import fee. These are not plans to raise revenue, but plans to sink the private economy.

It is not as though the Federal Government is starved for revenue. Taxes are already planned to be 19.3 per cent of GNP in 1988—up from 18.6 per cent in 1984, an increase of almost $34 billion. And there are grave questions about whether high tax rates would actually yield *less* revenue over time. In testimony before the House Republican Study Committee, economist Alan Reynolds recently observed that "countries with higher tax rates have not been able to increase real tax revenues nearly as rapidly as the U.S. has. Real revenues [adjusted for inflation] rose by 11.1 per cent from 1980 to 1985 in the U.S., compared with increases of only 2.9 per cent in the Netherlands, 3.7 per cent in Canada, and 5.3 per cent in West Germany. In 1986, real U.S. revenues rose another 4.1 per cent—more than the overtaxed economies managed in five years. In both the U.S. and the UK, the share of taxes collected from the highest-income groups rose sharply after tax rates were cut."

If congressional Democrats really wanted more tax revenue, rather than a symbolic victory over the President, they would leave the tax rates alone.

Trade Loophole 201

THE SENATE trade bill takes a notorious special-interest loophole, Section 201, and makes it truly outrageous. Section 201 is the provision that lets an industry seek protection from foreign competition even when there is no pretense that such competition is in any way "unfair." If an industry is hurt by perfectly fair foreign competition, it can still go to the International Trade Commission and seek quotas or tariffs to force Americans to pay extra for its product. As the law now stands, the President can accept the ITC recommendation, as in the Harley-Davidson case, or he can reject it, on grounds of the harm caused by higher prices and restricted competition.

In the new Senate bill, neither the ITC nor the President can even take into account the damage the proposed protection would cause to consumers, retailers, ports, or industries that use the imported product. Comparisons of costs and benefits are not allowed. This is, of course, an open invitation to restrain competition. It is the antithesis of becoming competitive, or of insisting on fairness. The bill protects industries that admit they are uncompetitive in the contest for the consumer's dollar. Already, the oil industry is lining up to use this loophole to push U.S. energy costs above those of competing countries. The line for similar favors could get very, very long.

We are most of us both producers and consumers.

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As producers, we want what we produce to be scarce and expensive, but as consumers we want what we buy to be abundant and cheap. The Senate is dangerously close to catering to a few producers, in order to create scarcity and high prices. That's called stagflation, and it won't be as popular as the protectionists seem to think.

Nathan Perlmutter, RIP

NATHAN PERLMUTTER was national director of the Anti-Defamation League and an occasional contributor to NATIONAL REVIEW. And therein lies a story.

For a number of years, after the war, the ADL was really two things: an organization committed to fighting anti-Semitism, and a liberal lobby. The treatment by the ADL of such anti-Communist stalwarts as Fred Schwartz, in the early Sixties, was inexplicable. In 1964, the ADL sponsored the publication of a book designed to do as much damage as possible to the cause of Barry Goldwater, then running for President. NATIONAL REVIEW was among the victims of that volume, though the authors were scrupulous enough to exempt *NR* from any charge of anti-Semitism.

Perlmutter was with the ADL most of his adult life, but, having first spent four or five stormy years at Brandeis, where he had direct experience with rampant leftism, he brought to the ADL a shifting perspective. By 1979, he had become the national director. And a bond was formed, professional and personal, between Perlmutter and the editor of this journal. We found we were fighting the same things, and his death leaves us with that special loss we feel for the absent comrade-in-arms.

He was a man given to intense loyalties, hard thought, and great conviction. At the same time, he knew how to relax, and was fine company in every situation. His death, from lung cancer, saddens all his friends and admirers. We extend our sympathy to his widow and family. —WFB

Scully, *Punch* / Rothco

"Do you ever have one of those days when you feel like recommending Lebanon to everybody?"

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

NATIONAL REVIEW has often served as a forum for various ideas in the field of economics. I thought you might help advance one that I've come up with. Wouldn't it be a good idea for the IRS to issue income-tax refunds in the form of U.S. Government savings bonds? The bearer could cash them immediately for the amount of the refund or hold on to them for a deferred payment. Citizens save more, and the government gets some extra bond sales.

Neat, ain't it?

Very truly yours,
R. M. Cardillo
Cypress, Tex.

Dear Mr. Cardillo: Well, yes, but it doesn't diminish the national debt to add to it. Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

In your reply to Mr. Auburn J. Lamb ["Notes & Asides," April 24], you asked whether Mr. Lamb had ever heard of an "iridologist."

Frankly, I had not, and after checking both copies of my unabridged editions of Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language (1947 and 1969, which may not be recent enough to include the word), I was unable to find the word "iridologist" listed. However, I noted that "irido" (indicated as a combining form from Greek *iris*, *irido*, the iris, used chiefly in Anat., Med., and Surg.) might be the answer to my question, so I respectfully inquire:

Does "iridologist" pertain to a person who practices medical treatment or surgery relating to the iris of the eye?

Thank you for your reply in this matter.

E. M. Borgeson
Las Vegas, Nev.

Dear Mr. Borgeson: That is what was related to me by a learned English lady living in Switzerland who has consulted an -r-d-l-g-st. Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

In the July 3 editorial "Exit Volcker, Enter Green-

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"The Committee has no further questions, Colonel North."

span" you wrote a staggering verdict: "Monetary policies for nearly two decades have been built upon shifting theories and seat-of-the-pants judgments . . . for the time being, monetary policy continues to be conducted by guesswork rather than rules . . ."

But, what rules are we talking about? I have lived in the United States for thirty years and am still looking for some long-term investment rules. I could not find any. Instead I have found lots of broken crystal balls and broken investors (not insiders).

Please advise me, Mr. Buckley, regarding the "rules" before 1965.

With respect,
Andrew J. Erdely
Cypress, Calif.

Dear Mr. Erdely: The rules are not given by statute or doctrine; rather, they are decocted by individual economic theorists. It would have been wise to make that distinction. Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Item: The Archdiocese of San Francisco has invited comedian Michael Pritchard to do a stand-up comedy routine at Candlestick Park before Pope John Paul II arrives, in order to "warm up" the audience.

It occurs to me that saying the Rosary in unison, or even singing Christian songs with guitar accompaniment, might be more appropriate. Am I hopelessly pre-Vatican II? Please advise, as I am only 25 years old.

Cordially,
James T. Hammer
San Francisco, Calif.

P.S.: If I am really pre-Vatican II, does that not prove reincarnation?

Dear Mr. Hammer: I know not what kind of comedy Michael Pritchard comes up with, but you have a point. If I were stage-managing the event, I'd set up some Negro spirituals, followed by Gregorian chant, assuming monks old enough to remember the tune could be assembled for the occasion. Cordially,
WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Re the recent *Firing Line* episodes with Mortimer Adler, in which you discussed his latest book, *We Hold These Truths.*

You start off the first program by saying that you and Dr. Adler will be discussing theoretical improvements to the Constitution. Everything runs rather smoothly through the first hour and into the second. Both you and Adler favor a single, six-year term for the President. You are pleased when Adler has no grounds for objecting to one of your pet amendments. *But!* When Dr. Adler propels the idea of an independent public prosecutor, you reflexively drop into combat mode and unleash a brief ad hominem against him. Here are your exact words: "Now we are getting into real angelism, aren't we? You're sitting here like Rousseau, drawing up a constitution for Poland . . ."

Mr. Buckley, in case you forgot, one of the purposes of the show was to discuss theoretical improvements to the Constitution. Your comment was ungentlemanly, uncalled for, and requires an apology to Dr. Adler.

In the future, save the ad hominem attacks for Galbraith and others who like to do battle on that level. Guests like Adler and Muggeridge deserve better.

Respectfully,
Dave McOmie
Washougal, Wash.

P.S.: I challenge you to respond with substance, not sophistry.

Dear Mr. McOmie: How can you insult someone by telling him he talks like an angel? Cordially,
—WFB

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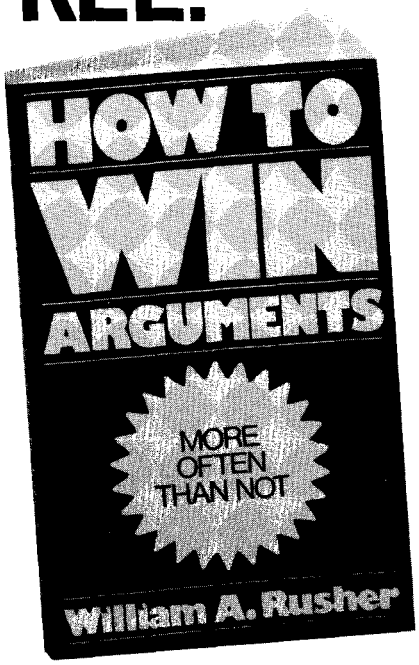
If you have ever come away from an argument feeling frustrated,

THIS IS THE BOOK FOR YOU!

Bill Rusher's act of treachery—giving away the house secrets—may make him rich and famous. At home, we will treat him like the Rosenbergs.

—WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

GET IT FREE!



To get this valuable book fill out and mail the card opposite this page today!

Like it or not, you always find yourself getting into discussions and arguments; it seems impossible to avoid nowadays. Don't you really owe it to yourself to learn how to handle such situations—how to argue *and win*?

Sound difficult? Not when you have *How to Win Arguments* handy. This practical and highly entertaining book is by William A. Rusher (*National Review*'s publisher). Rusher, a professional arguer *par excellence*, is eminently qualified to show *you* how to do it well.

You've probably seen him in action on TV's *The Advocates*, *Good Morning America*, *Viewpoint*, or other shows, and marveled at his effectiveness. No one seems able to put him down. At the very least, he's going to give as good as he gets even when defending positions popularly assumed to be indefensible. Now, in *How to Win Arguments*, Rusher lets you in on the trade secrets and shows you how to acquire the skills and techniques necessary to hold your own in any argument or discussion.

This is not a treatise full of technical jargon—it's an enjoyable, informal guide to clear thinking. It covers all the basics from how to prepare for an argument and how to handle yourself under fire to how to allow for individual strengths and styles. There's even a fascinating chapter filled with advice from other expert debaters such as William F. Buckley Jr., Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, John Kenneth Galbraith, and Phyllis Schlafly. As the book jacket says, it is indeed an ". . . entertaining and comprehensive guide to the techniques, rhetorical devices, and principles of successful argumentation." No argument there.

Right now, with this special offer, you have the opportunity to get this valuable book absolutely FREE and postpaid. All you have to do is enter a subscription to *National Review* (or renew your current one, no matter when it expires) for one year at the regular $36 rate. Simply fill out the handy postage-free card opposite and mail it to us today. We'll send you your FREE copy of *How to Win Arguments* as fast as we can, and you'll start receiving NR hot off the press too. Our supply of books is limited, so please act now.

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TACKLING TOSHIBA

TOSHIBA MACHINE Company sold propeller machines to the Soviet Union for two years (1982 to 1984), allowing the Russians to build super-quiet, nearly undetectable submarines. Experts say the U.S. will now have to shell out $40 billion to upgrade its own submarines to a state of noiselessness that will maintain the prior American advantage. In addition, Toshiba lied about the sale so as not to alert the Japanese government.

In view of that, why is Ronald Reagan being softer on the Japanese than Congress is? Because more is at stake than simply punishing wayward businessmen in an allied country.

The Toshiba sale brings up the question of how a free-trade country like America grapples with the dilemma of export controls. "A country that believes in free trade should be allowed to trade with others," says a member of the Administration involved with export policy, "but it should not export the rope by which it will be hanged." Hence the agreement—which Japan signed—not to sell shared technology without U.S. approval.

The Senate has voted overwhelmingly (95 to 2) to punish the entire Toshiba Corporation, not just the offending Machine Company subsidiary, by banning all of its imports for two to five years. The President had said he would veto the comprehensive sanctions if they reached his desk.

Export controls began under the Carter Administration after printing machines using high-tech ball bearings were sold to the Eastern bloc in the spirit of détente. The apparently harmless widgets turned out to be crucial precision elements. Used in guidance systems for land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles, they allowed the USSR to upgrade the accuracy of its missile fleet, thus threatening the U.S. with a deadly first-strike capability.

Economics are also involved. The "widget" sale influenced Carter's decision to upgrade the U.S. missile fleet with additional MX missiles at a cost of billions. Now, on this go-round, the ground-based nuclear threat to the U.S. is being matched, thanks to Toshiba, by a submarine-based one. Again, damage control will cost the taxpayers billions.

So why is Reagan ready to veto sanctions against Toshiba? First, the Administration feels that Congress is simply Jap-bashing, punishing Toshiba as part of the current anti-Japanese trend in U.S. debate on trade issues. The company's two top executives resigned, and the Japanese government has fined the offending subsidiary. Destroying Toshiba could be counterproductive, say Reagan officials, by creating animosity toward the United States. And that would hardly stop other companies from selling to U.S. enemies. (On the other hand, such harsh punishment could engender international cooperation for more stringent rules on export controls.)

Secondly, the U.S. should beware of cutting off its nose to spite its face. Allied support is crucial for hugely expensive research projects such as SDI, NASA's manned space station, and the 53-mile-long, superconducting supercollider, a new device designed to make subatomic particles collide and divide. The U.S. has embarked on joint ventures with the Allies on SDI, and the White House and the Energy Department propose another get-out-the-Allies approach to research on the space station and the supercollider. The rationale is clear: We help the Allies with research money, which translates into jobs for them and makes SDI more palatable to their dissident political constituencies. That in turn permits the U.S. to say SDI has support from West Germany, Britain, Italy, Israel, and eventually Japan, thus making SDI more palatable at home.

Japan's signing of a joint SDI agreement in mid July had been eagerly anticipated in the U.S., but now Toshiba is considering withdrawing from any SDI competition to stave off further criticism. And Congress's strong reaction has intimidated a lot of electronics-related Japanese companies, which suddenly seem reluctant to work with the United States. A House-passed provision allowing SDI projects to go overseas only if they could be done abroad more cheaply than in the U.S. is adding fuel to the fire.

THE THIRD reason the Reagan Administration is in a honey-rather-than-vinegar mood toward Japan is that Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige wants to ease up on export controls. Baldrige seems likely to get looser rules now that a key adversary, Richard Perle, is out of the way. Former Assistant Secretary of Defense Perle strongly opposed sharing research and technology, and vetoed export licenses for companies whose exports could eventually threaten American military power. That veto power is soon expected to pass to Baldrige. In fact, some in Congress speculate that the Pentagon purposefully leaked the Toshiba affair to help fight off Commerce encroachments on what it sees as its territory.

On the merits, Reagan is right not to bash Toshiba. Politically, however, bashing has popular appeal. The American people are in a belligerent mood because they sense a decline in U.S. superpower primacy. It would be damaging for Reagan to go out on a limb and exempt Toshiba from punitive action by Congress. On balance, Reagan should stick by his guns and hope that, if the trade bill Congress sends him contains protectionist measures, they will be so extreme that he will be able to veto the bill and make his veto stick. □

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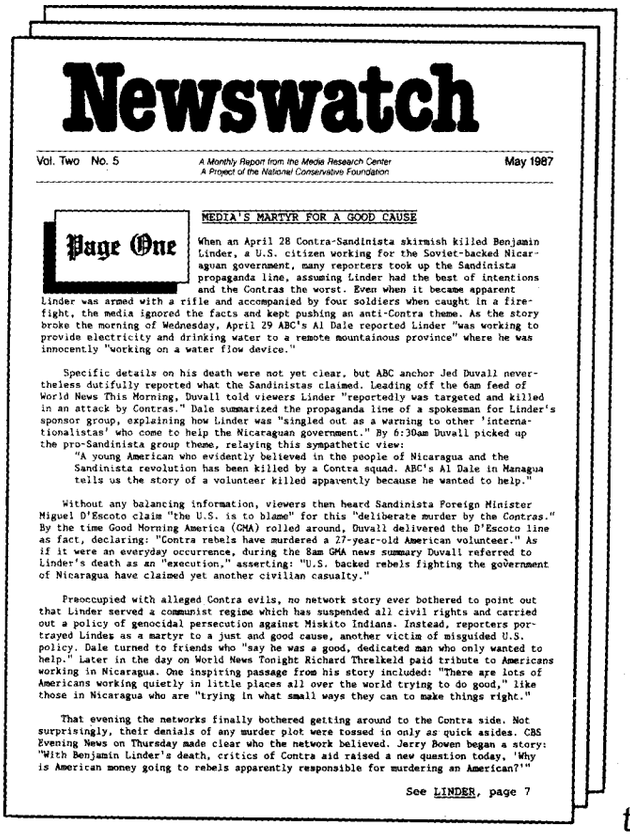

Newswatch

Vol. Two No. 5 — *A Monthly Report from the Media Research Center, A Project of the National Conservative Foundation* — May 1987

Page One

MEDIA'S MARTYR FOR A GOOD CAUSE

When an April 28 Contra-Sandinista skirmish killed Benjamin Linder, a U.S. citizen working for the Soviet-backed Nicaraguan government, many reporters took up the Sandinista propaganda line, assuming Linder had the best of intentions and the Contras the worst. Even when it became apparent Linder was armed with a rifle and accompanied by four soldiers when caught in a firefight, the media ignored the facts and kept pushing an anti-Contra theme. As the story broke the morning of Wednesday, April 29 ABC's Al Dale reported Linder "was working to provide electricity and drinking water to a remote mountainous province" where he was innocently "working on a water flow device."

Specific details on his death were not yet clear, but ABC anchor Jed Duvall nevertheless dutifully reported what the Sandinistas claimed. Leading off the 6am feed of World News This Morning, Duvall told viewers Linder "reportedly was targeted and killed in an attack by Contras." Dale summarized the propaganda line of a spokesman for Linder's sponsor group, explaining how Linder was "singled out as a warning to other 'internationalistas' who come to help the Nicaraguan government." By 6:30am Duvall picked up the pro-Sandinista group theme, relaying this sympathetic view:

"A young American who evidently believed in the people of Nicaragua and the Sandinista revolution has been killed by a Contra squad. ABC's Al Dale in Managua tells us the story of a volunteer killed apparently because he wanted to help."

Without any balancing information, viewers then heard Sandinista Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto claim "the U.S. is to blame" for this "deliberate murder by the Contras." By the time Good Morning America (GMA) rolled around, Duvall delivered the D'Escoto line as fact, declaring: "Contra rebels have murdered a 27-year-old American volunteer." As if it were an everyday occurrence, during the 8am GMA news summary Duvall referred to Linder's death as an "execution," asserting: "U.S. backed rebels fighting the government of Nicaragua have claimed yet another civilian casualty."

Preoccupied with alleged Contra evils, no network story ever bothered to point out that Linder served a communist regime which has suspended all civil rights and carried out a policy of genocidal persecution against Miskito Indians. Instead, reporters portrayed Linder as a martyr to a just and good cause, another victim of misguided U.S. policy. Dale turned to friends who "say he was a good, dedicated man who only wanted to help." Later in the day on World News Tonight Richard Threlkeld paid tribute to Americans working in Nicaragua. One inspiring passage from his story included: "There are lots of Americans working quietly in little places all over the world trying to do good," like those in Nicaragua who are "trying in what small ways they can to make things right."

That evening the networks finally bothered getting around to the Contra side. Not surprisingly, their denials of any murder plot were tossed in only as quick asides. CBS Evening News on Thursday made clear who the network believed. Jerry Bowen began a story: "With Benjamin Linder's death, critics of Contra aid raised a new question today, 'Why is American money going to rebels apparently responsible for murdering an American?'"

See LINDER, page 7

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RED STAR BLAZES ON

I SOMETIMES WISH Dr. Gallup hadn't done it, and that the public-opinion poll could be disinvented. But I know I'm tilting at windmills: It's here to stay, along with computers and investigative journalism. A Dutch poll told us the other day that 72 per cent of Dutch people thought Mikhail Gorbachev was a man of peace. In France, for some reason, the proportion was only 32 per cent.

No wonder Gorbachev has just promoted his propaganda chief, the ingenious Mr. Aleksandr Yakovlev, by bringing him into the Politburo as a full member. A man who could think up *glasnost* deserves to rise in the world.

The matter is more serious, however, than this levity might imply. In America and in Western Europe, millions of decent citizens are persuaded that the Soviet leader is a man of peace, and that if anybody is a threat to the world it is more likely to be President Reagan than he.

It has to be said that the Gorbachev road show is truly spectacular. The new Law on State Enterprises, outlined by the leader before the Central Committee in late June, is breathtaking in its scope and its self-contradictory assumptions. Twenty-five years ago, an obscure Soviet professor named Yevsei Liberman made a timid stab in the same direction. He dared to evoke the profit motive and so impressed Nikita Khrushchev that some factories were indeed given autonomy and told to place a higher priority on making goods that people wanted to buy, rather than merely fulfilling the central Plan's requirements.

Now Gorbachev is going all the way. The whole economy is to be transformed from top to bottom. The planners will find themselves out of a job. The factories and enterprises will take their own production decisions. What it amounts to in effect is capitalism without capitalists, and all in the name of Leninism. (The "in" leak from Moscow is that every night before turning in, Gorbachev pores over the collected works of Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, much as Pascal's unbeliever was advised to pray by his bedside every night, so that, in time, he would believe in God.)

No wonder the entrenched conservatives, the corrupt and inefficient *nomenklatura*, don't like what's going on. By American standards, *glasnost* may be a bit of a joke, but it would be wrong to minimize the impact of, say, seeing Mrs. Thatcher on Soviet television, speaking her forthright mind. For the first time (apart from some brief moments early in Khrushchev's time) ordinary Soviet citizens have been gaining some access to the way the outside world thinks.

All this is relevant to this column. It would be wrong to underestimate the risks Gorbachev is courting. An intelligent man, he is well aware that the Soviet system doesn't work. He also knows that he cannot propose to jettison the ruling ideology, if he is to stay in power. So he tries to borrow the principle of the economic market without restoring the bourgeois class that was liquidated in the name of History.

In this situation, his incentive to pull off an arms-control deal is about as strong as Reagan's, and that is precisely where the Yakovlev factor takes over. Between them, Yakovlev and Gorbachev have created a Western climate of opinion such that Gorbachev is seen as the good guy. All the more reason to take another look at arms control, for there is no doubt in my mind that the present prospects in that sphere are the most dangerous since SALT I.

Western specialists differ on the exact roles of the powerful Soviet Defense Council and of the Politburo. The young German, Mathias Rust, who daringly landed his light plane on Red Square rendered Gorbachev a quite unexpected service. Since the great crisis of 1957 over the supposed ambitions of Marshal Zhukov, the specter of "Bonapartism" has haunted the Party bosses. Gorbachev acted promptly, by sacking his defense minister, Marshal Sokolov, and giving his successor, the relatively junior General Dmitri Yazov, a non-voting slot on the Politburo. The current role of the controversial Marshal Ogarkov in Soviet political, as distinct from military, affairs is unclear. What is clear, however, is that (as I wrote in the June 5 issue of *NR*) his views have played an important part in Gorbachev's present arms proposals.

THE WORRYING thing is that people in the West do not seem to understand, or even to be willing to understand, the true purposes behind Gorbachev's unexpected acceptance of the West's original zero-zero option on nuclear missiles in the European theater. The Western governments are faced with a clever use of *maskirovka*, that is, measures designed to "lead one's enemy into error through the masking of one's own intentions." And that is where the public-opinion polls become a real and worrying factor. More than any previous Soviet Party boss, Gorbachev has been signally successful in appealing to Western public opinion above the heads of Western leaders.

In a worst-case scenario, President Reagan falls into the trap and pulls out the Pershing IIs and cruise missiles, installed at such a cost in political trauma not all that long ago. And suddenly, European NATO finds that its residual deterrent consists of Britain's Polaris/Trident (dependent on continuing American support) and France's *force de frappe*. I have already said that? Yes, and I'll have to say it again. And again. □

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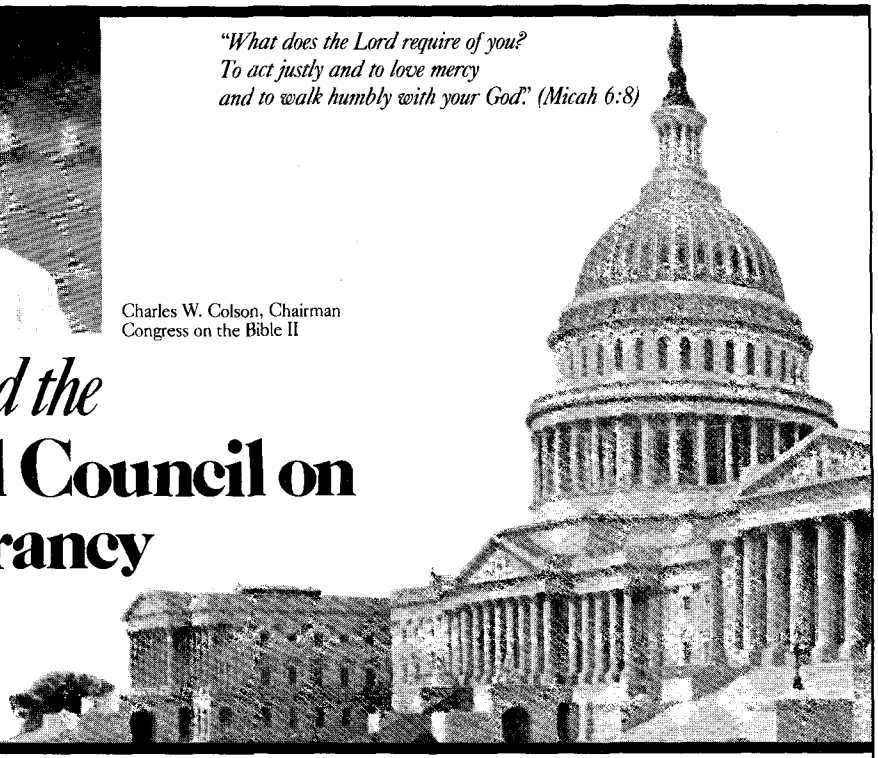
Charles W. Colson, Chairman
Congress on the Bible II

"What does the Lord require of you?
To act justly and to love mercy
and to walk humbly with your God." (Micah 6:8)



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CAN KEMP DO IT?

JUDE WANNISKI

To the casual observer, Vice President George Bush is still "the man to beat" for the GOP nomination, although Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole is doing well in the public-opinion polls. Representative Jack Kemp, my personal friend and personal choice, is said to be floundering in third place, barely into double digits in the polls and running in the red financially. Some commentators are already relegating him to the "second tier," suggesting his chances are no more realistic than those of Paul Laxalt, Pat Robertson, Pete du Pont, Alexander Haig, or Howard Baker. So much for the casual observer.

In presidential politics, most Americans spend no time at all contemplating a distant horse race. At this stage of the 1988 presidential season, it wouldn't be surprising to find that three-quarters or more of the potential national electorate have not even peeked at what's going on. When asked by a national pollster whom they favor at the moment, these voters will draw almost entirely upon past national campaigns in stating a preference. This is why it was never conceivable that anybody but Bush and Dole —the only two who had already run for national office —would score above the teens in national polls until after the first 1988 contests: Michigan, Iowa, New Hampshire.

In a sense, the national electorate saves time and effort by trusting in the voters of New Hampshire to do the first serious sorting out of the candidates. Since the New Hampshire preferential primary began in 1952, no candidate has won the Presidency without first winning in New Hampshire. Voters in other states make up their own minds, of course, but they take seriously the close-up, fine-mesh screening that the voters of New Hampshire have developed as a cottage industry. The Iowa precinct caucuses that now take place the week before New Hampshire are also important. But because they are much less representative of the grass roots, the precinct-caucus screen is a coarser mesh, with a party-organization bias.

In the 1972 race, the Harris Poll, as reported in the *New York Times* of January 21, 1972, had Senator Edmund Muskie leading among Democratic and independent voters nationwide with 30 per cent; Hubert Humphrey, Eugene McCarthy, and John Lindsay in the next three slots; and George McGovern at 7 per cent. In the March 7, 1972, New Hampshire primary, Muskie tallied 46 per cent and McGovern 37 per cent. McGovern, of course, went on to win the Democratic nomination and lose in a landslide to Richard Nixon.

In 1976, the Democratic field included Birch Bayh, Hubert Humphrey, Lloyd Bentsen, Fred Harris, Scoop Jackson, Milton Shapp, Terry Sanford, and Sargent Shriver. Jimmy Carter was barely showing up on the national scope when he won the Iowa caucuses January 19 as a stepping-stone to a winning percentage in New Hampshire.

In 1980, George Bush hovered at 6 per cent in the national polls on the eve of the Iowa caucuses. In the caucuses, Bush scored 37 per cent to Reagan's 29 per cent. The big loser was Bob Dole, who could manage only 1.5 per cent. Bush immediately surged to a 15-point lead over Reagan in the New Hampshire opinion polls and came in second in the *Time* magazine national poll that hit the newsstands February 4. But when the New Hampshire voters applied their fine mesh on February 26, Reagan scored 50 per cent, Bush 23, with Dole, an asterisk, dropping out. Bush had plummeted from 15 points ahead to 27 behind, and Reagan rolled on to victory.

In 1984, Gary Hart was under 5 per cent in the national polls going into the February 20 Iowa caucuses. There, he was a surprising second to Walter Mondale. Hart immediately jumped to 24 per cent in a New Hampshire opinion poll. But the national polls did not reflect his Iowa surge. On February 28, the day of the New Hampshire primary, the *New York Times*/CBS News national poll had Mondale at 57 per cent and Hart at 7 per cent. The New Hampshire voters trooped to the polls and gave Hart a stunning 41 to 29 per cent win over Mondale. The

Mr. Wanniski is president of Polyconomics, Inc., a political and economic consulting firm based in Morristown, New Jersey. His 1987 Media Guide, *published by Harper & Row, was released this winter. This article is based on a June 1987 Polyconomics paper, "A Kemp Scenario."*

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next morning, already thinking about 1988, Jack Kemp privately commented, "It goes to show how much the Vice Presidency is worth." It also goes to show how little the polls mean before the contest gets under way, and how powerfully voters nationwide react to a genuine display of political prowess.

The most important factions in the two political parties are the movement conservatives in the GOP and the organization liberals in the Democratic Party—as opposed to the Eastern Establishment in the GOP and the Southern and Western populists in the Democratic Party. In advance of the actual primaries, activists in these various wings of the two parties engage in unofficial contests to select their favorites. These are the primaries within the primaries. On the Republican side of this struggle, Bush is the leading candidate of the organization. Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole isn't quite trusted because he is so unpredictable, but if Bush were to falter—as he has somewhat—Dole would be the major beneficiary. Pierre du Pont IV, a supply-side conservative and social liberal, would also gain organization-Republican support as Bush weakens. Alexander Haig and Howard Baker have been the only other contenders in this wing of the GOP.

The movement-conservative primary within the primaries has been a minuet around Jack Kemp, and the untold story of 1987 is that he almost has it won. In a sense, Kemp has been the preferred nominee of this party faction from the beginning. But the economic, social, and national-security elements in this loose alliance are always wary of anointing their man too soon—wary of being taken for granted by a nominee eager to "move leftward" to begin picking up support for the general election. Had Kemp signed a blood oath a year ago to represent evangelical Christians above all other interests, he could have blocked the entry of the Reverend Pat Robertson. But that would have doomed his campaign in other respects.

As it is, Kemp cleared his most important hurdle in February when White House Communications Director Pat Buchanan turned away from a presidential run at the last minute—openly acknowledging that he was doing so because he had decided Kemp deserved a clear shot. An editorial in *Human Events*, an essential barometer of conservative-activist opinion, had made that point in an open plea to Buchanan to pass. At this year's Conservative Political Action Conference in Washington the weekend of February 20, a straw poll was taken of the several hundred delegates from fifty states, representing the American Conservative Union and Young Americans for Freedom. Kemp garnered 68 per cent of the vote, Buchanan 9 per cent, Dole 5 per cent, Bush 4 per cent, Robertson 4 per cent, du Pont 3 per cent, and others 7 per cent.

The numbers reflect the intensity of Kemp support among the conservative intellectual cadres. This doesn't guarantee a GOP nomination: Reagan had the overwhelming support of these cadres in 1976, but lost the nomination to President Ford. But they are a powerful force, and Kemp is not far from having their open allegiance.

One of the knocks against Kemp is that he doesn't already have this allegiance, but the mating dance goes at its own pace: The social conservatives especially are worried about being taken for granted after the wedding. They know Kemp is driven more by the economic imperative and by an eagerness to convert minorities and blue-collars to the cause than he is by the social issues. For just that reason, Pat Robertson's candidacy could have been a serious problem for Kemp, but the PTL scandal has taken the wind out of the sails of the TV evangelists. More importantly, although Kemp's reputation was built on economic issues, it is simply impossible to argue persuasively that he is ambivalent on the social issues. He has certainly been steadfast on abortion. On foreign policy he has risked the displeasure of both press and President by making himself a leading opponent of what he regards as dangerous arms-control proposals.

Senator Dole, who sees himself as being positioned between the organization Republicans (Bush) and the movement conservatives (Kemp), has been following a two-front strategy. He hammers at Bush, taking advantage of the Vice President's inability to maneuver. And he has been openly courting the conservative cadres by taking up some of their better-publicized causes—opposing aid to Marxist Mozambique, supporting funds for the Strategic Defense Initiative, defending the Manion nomination to a federal judgeship, keeping an impeccable record on the social issues. But just as the establishment is wary of Dole's unpredictability, so too are the movement conservatives. They realize he operates out of political instinct far more than out of conviction. This makes him interesting only as a potential fallback candidate for both wings of the GOP.

One of the knocks against Kemp is that he doesn't already have the conservative cadres' open allegiance, but the mating dance goes at its own pace

DO IDEAS COUNT in a campaign? Absolutely. They can provide victory or lead to defeat, depending upon whether the electorate agrees with the ideas presented. Democracy assumes the voters *collectively* know where they want their leaders to lead. On the whole, the electorate prefers candidates with the right ideas to those with no ideas or unclear ones; but prefers candidates without ideas to candidates with the wrong ones.

In 1976, Jimmy Carter won the Democratic nomination because he offered no ideas. The other contenders—having all read the same misleading opinion polls—concluded that the voters were eager to break up oil companies and other concentrations of obscene profits, and to redistribute wealth. Carter alone remained "fuzzy" on the issues, complaining that "the tax system is a disgrace to the human race," but giving no details on what he would do, and suggesting that he might not break up the oil companies. On the eve of the Iowa caucuses, the *New York Times* reported that two analysts had found a surge of support for Carter: "They both find a certain indefiniteness part of Carter's political charm."

The opposite happened in the 1980 GOP race. George Bush defeated Ronald Reagan in the Iowa caucuses on pure organizational strength, with Reagan not even presenting

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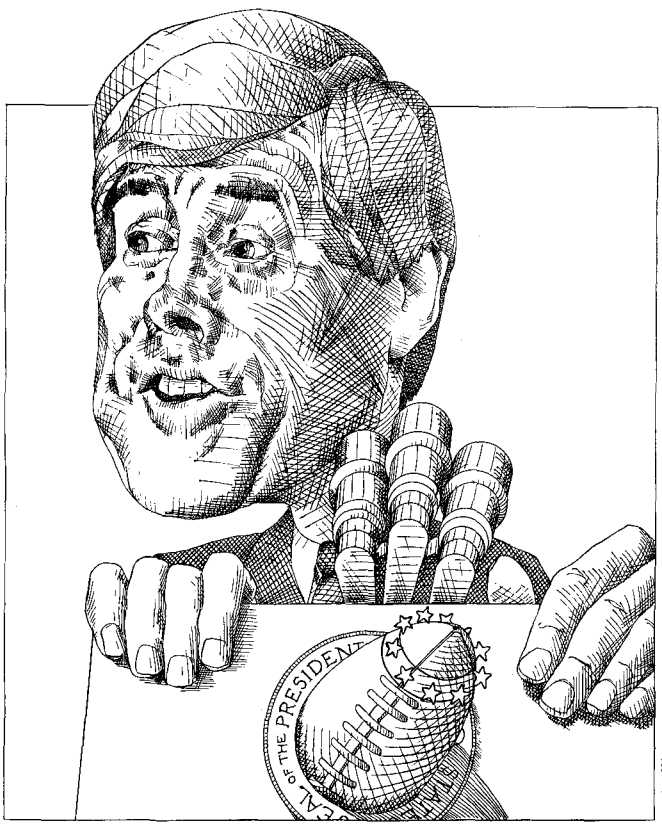
his agenda. But after Iowa, in the two weeks prior to the New Hampshire primary, Reagan offered his economic program of supply-side tax cuts while Bush offered "Big Mo." In an article in the February 10, 1980, *New York Times Magazine*, political analyst Roy Reed summarized Bush's biggest problem: "his elusive, Everyman quality . . . it's tough to place him on the political spectrum. The danger is ever-present that, in the course of trying to be all things to all people, he will end up meaning nothing to anyone." The *Times*/CBS News poll of February 20, 1980, found that "many who support George Bush are uncertain of what he stands for ideologically." This is precisely why Bush has such a hard time getting people to vote for him and such an easy time getting successful vote-getters to appoint him to public office.

Though no one would accuse him of being a man of ideas, Senator Dole has a much easier time than Bush in getting people to vote for him, including his Senate colleagues, because of his superior political instincts. In a world filled with bad ideas, a democracy needs Bob Doles, men who do not have a vision of the future but who are adept at dealing with the future as it arrives, picking and choosing from Left and Right. In selecting a President, though, the voters are looking for more than tactical skills.

In his market commentary of May 21, 1987, Morgan Stanley's Byron R. Wien reported on Dole's appearance before the Financial Analysts Federation conference in Philadelphia the previous week:

> The luncheon speaker was Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, the choice of many attending the meeting as the Republican candidate for President in 1988. He arrived very late and made a general, unsophisticated, podium-thumping speech . . . Someone asked whether he thought the dollar was about at its bottom and what, if anything, should be done. He said that he did not know much about the subject; when there was an audible groan from the audience, he added sarcastically that he doesn't think Secretary of the Treasury Baker knows a lot more than he does. We were all disappointed, as it seemed reasonable to expect the senator to have an informed opinion on the dollar. It was not as if we were asking him for his foreign-policy stance on Micronesia.



Daniel Kisner

Kemp, of course, is far and away the presidential candidate of ideas. He is the only Republican candidate with what Franklin Roosevelt called a "brain trust," a kitchen cabinet of intellectuals who have gravitated to him over the years. The first requirement of a political figure who wishes to have such a coterie is that he have a lengthy attention span. I've known Bush, Dole, Laxalt, and Howard Baker far longer than I've known Kemp. The reason they have not attracted idea-people is that they are bottom-line political leaders, whose eyes glaze over at complex supporting detail. Quite the opposite, Kemp's way is to question his advisors on conceptual detail until he knows enough to absorb or discard the idea. He insists on getting to the bottom line himself. Unlike Dole or the other GOP contenders, Kemp can hold his own in intellectual debates.

As one result, Kemp has attracted to his person and candidacy a virtual university of thinkers in almost every sphere of public policy. Three of the leading intellectuals of the Reagan Administration, all now departed, are Kemp advisors: former UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick (though she is considering a "favorite daughter" campaign in Maryland), Assistant Defense Secretary Richard Perle, and Deputy Treasury Secretary Richard Darman. Irving Kristol says Kemp is easily the smartest congressman he's ever known. In fact, says House Minority Whip Trent Lott, Kemp has been the incubator for every worthwhile idea that has come out of the Reagan Administration. Nor is Kemp a mere policy maven. His policy proposals reflect, and he explicitly promotes, an inclusive democratic-capitalist vision recognizable to voters as a powerful contemporary version of the American project. More than any other conservative leader—including Reagan, who has often followed Kemp—Kemp has made conservative policies seem to represent the American consensus.

As with Reagan in 1980, the key for Kemp is the New Hampshire primary, which takes place next year on February 16. Because the Iowa caucuses the previous week heavily favor the party organization's candidate, Vice President Bush almost certainly will emerge the winner. Senator Dole, from neighboring Kansas, is said to be the likely runner-up, with Kemp third. But the Iowa-Kansas farm connection did not do Dole any good in 1980, when he went from more than 10 per cent in advance straw polls to a mere 1.5 per cent at the actual caucuses. Kemp's clearest dominance for the primary season will be among GOP college students, attracted to his global vision and idealistic passion for growth and opportunity. Students generally do not attend the time-consuming caucuses in local living rooms of party regulars. Certainly they did not in the 1980 caucuses, when there was no candidate of Kemp's youthful appeal. Such a turnout in 1988 could put Kemp ahead of Dole in Iowa. Veteran political reporters have also noticed Kemp scoring with his frequent visits to evangelical audiences.

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Even if it is Bush and Dole, one-two, in Iowa, the final results of the unusual Michigan delegate-selection process, the first stage of which has already concluded, will be known on January 31. Bush, who won the Michigan primary in 1980, has vowed to win a majority of the Michigan delegation to demonstrate his strength. But it is already clear that Kemp and Robertson in loose alliance will deny Bush anywhere near a majority. More importantly, Dole can do no better than fourth, which will keep New Hampshire from appearing to be a two-man race.

Kemp's strength is in New Hampshire, which favors the populist wing of the party. Governor John Sununu is a Bush supporter, but the *Manchester Union-Leader*, the state's most important newspaper, is warm toward Kemp. The Kemp organization is strongest in New Hampshire. The campus Republicans are active and heavily turned toward Kemp. Charlie Black and Jeff Bell, who engineered Reagan's successful 1980 New Hampshire media campaign, are the top strategists in Kemp's national campaign. It's also hard to forget that both George Bush and Bob Dole presented themselves to the fine-mesh screen of the New Hampshire electorate in 1980 and were decisively rejected.

The week after New Hampshire brings the South Dakota primary and Minnesota caucuses, with Dole favored in the former and Kemp heavily favored in the latter. At the last two Minnesota State GOP conventions, Kemp has won the presidential straw polls. One of his closest friends in Congress, Representative Vin Weber, has worked to bring the Minnesota organization to Kemp. The same is true of Georgia, one of the states in the March 8 Super Tuesday Southern primaries, where Representative Newt Gingrich, another of Kemp's closest allies, has worked hard within the organization. At the Georgia State Republican convention in May, the presidential poll went Kemp 37 per cent, Bush 21 per cent, Dole 18 per cent.

George Bush does have organizational strength through the Southern tier, but so does Kemp, whose message and themes have far greater appeal among Southern conservatives and evangelicals than do the Vice President's bone-dry pieties and ambiguities. Assuming favorable news from New Hampshire, Kemp is likely to be the winner on Super Tuesday.

ALL FURTHER speculation awaits New Hampshire. Before that contest, the national polls are highly unlikely to give more information about 1988, except insofar as they show the ups and downs of Bush and Dole. Kemp is doing remarkably well even now, for a candidate who has never before been scrutinized by a national electorate. In the *Wall Street Journal*/NBC national poll in April, he had 12 per cent to Bush's 33 and Dole's 24. In the *Los Angeles Times* national poll in May, Bush and Dole tied at 27 and Kemp had 12, the closest he has ever been to the front-runners. In late May, in the *Washington Post*/ABC poll, he scored 11 per cent to Bush's 35 per cent and Dole's 28. To the Kemp campaign strategists, who had hoped to get Kemp to 15 per cent in a national poll by early 1988, 12 per cent this early looks enormous.

Kemp's greatest weakness is that he has never been in a national campaign. True, he has a senior campaign staff that has more cumulative experience in national campaigns than any of the other candidates' staffs: Charlie Black and Roger Stone with Reagan in 1976, 1980, and 1984; Jeff Bell with Nixon in 1968 and Reagan in 1976 and 1980; John Buckley and Ed Rollins with Reagan in 1984. But this can't substitute for personal experience. Kemp is clearly learning on the run and still making mistakes.

The problems of Kemp's campaign finances have also surfaced in the press. The campaign had raised about $2 million by April 1, but it had spent about as much as it had raised. This is both because the campaign hasn't raised as much as the top team thought it would at this point and because it has spent more than it should have. The senior staff, as noted, gained most of its experience in national campaigns with Ronald Reagan, who has never had trouble raising money. But as usually happens when a campaign problem finally surfaces in the press, the Kemp finance problem has already been addressed. The senior staff has pared expenses and brought in competent event organizers to do more asking, and the crisis has simmered down. By July 1, $3.3 million had been raised. The campaign is now well into the black. The goal of raising $10 million by January 1988, with a bankroll for media campaigns in the early states, now seems more realistic.

The Democrats want anybody but Kemp as their opponent. Reagan was bad enough; Kemp wants to assault the foundations of the Democratic establishment as Reagan never did

One of the handicaps Kemp faces in the contest for the GOP nomination is that the Democrats want anybody but Kemp as their opponent. Reagan was bad enough in 1980 and 1984, threatening the whole policy edifice of the Democratic establishment. Kemp wants to assault the foundations of that establishment in a way Reagan never did. There's no way the Democrats can hope to win the White House in 1988 with less than 90 per cent of the black vote: Kemp could pull 30 per cent of that bloc away from them. They would much rather lose the White House to Bush or Dole or Laxalt than to Kemp, because the others would leave the New Deal coalition intact.

Of the announced Democratic contenders, not one could possibly defeat Kemp, and none could easily defeat Bush or Dole. Like the Democratic dwarfs who handed the party nomination to Jimmy Carter in 1976, the crop this time is reading the public-opinion polls and blabbing about protectionism, higher taxes and balanced budgets, civil rights for AIDS carriers, and support, more or less, for the Sandinistas. The two smartest Democrats, Mario Cuomo and Bill Bradley, seem intent on watching from the bleachers. At a recent Polyconomics conference, where we had Kemp and Cuomo on the same platform, Cuomo was badgered to change his mind and get back into the race, on the grounds that he owed it to his party and the nation to provide some real competition to the Republicans. Cuomo's parting remark, as he skipped from the stage, was: "Maybe I'll catch up with you in '92, Jack." Cuomo saw the Kemp scenario. □

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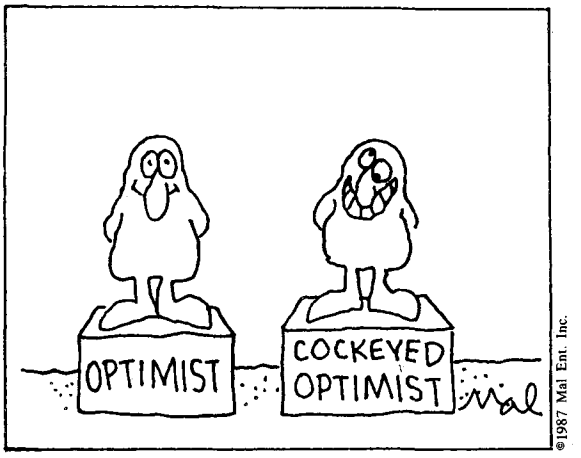
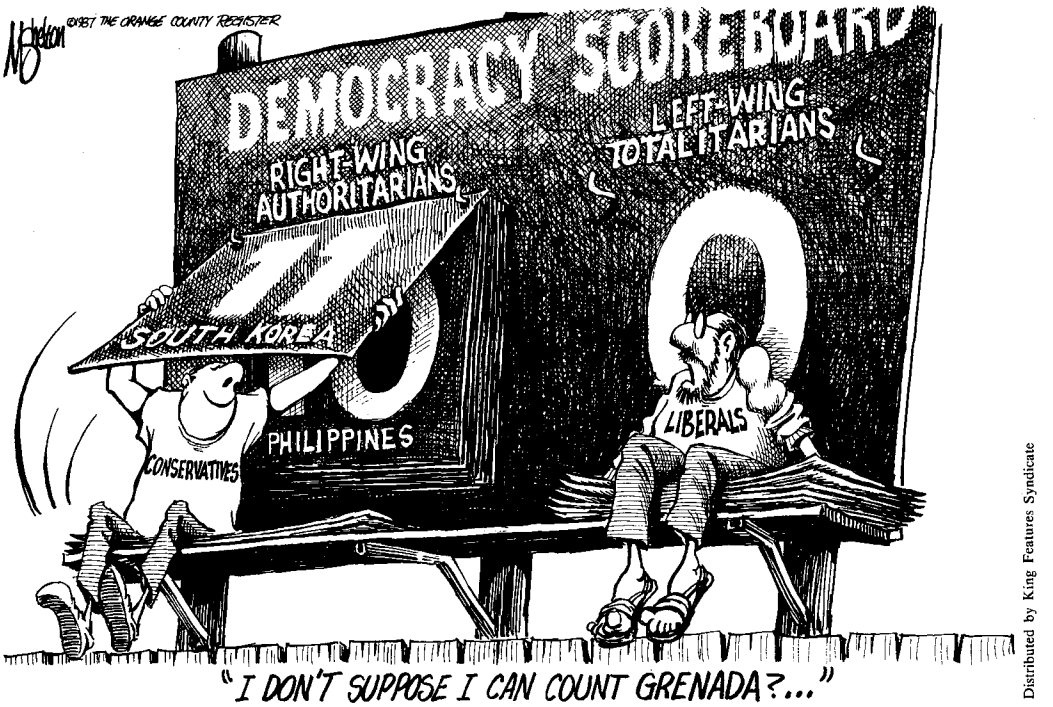


To the Guide with the Umbrella On the Red Tour-Bus

I wouldn't lead a group through hallowed halls,
Through palaces and pubs, through royal malls,
Through daisied dales and heather, hedges, walls,
Across the soggy moats, through streets and stalls
For pounds or pence! If memory recalls,
They stagger, stumble (one, luv, always falls),
And lose their purses, passports, patience. All's
A traveling circus in the way the balls
Inevitably bounce. For storms or squalls,
I'd rather be—a pigeon at St. Paul's!

MAUREEN CANNON



"I DON'T SUPPOSE I CAN COUNT GRENADA?..."

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"THE PRESIDENT MAY PRESENT HIS NOMINEE TO REPLACE JUSTICE POWELL."

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CORY AQUINO AND THE PSYCHOLOGY OF BUBBLES

WHEN EVERYBODY is convinced that something has a very high value—whether tulip bulbs in the seventeenth century or Cory Aquino in the twentieth—there's no point in trying to get people to change their minds. But you don't have to buy. You can wait for the bubble to burst, and try to understand how it happened and what will come after.

The extraordinary failure of the Philippine legislative election of May 11 may well have started the process that will burst the Aquino bubble. So it is not too soon to try to see through and beyond that bubble, even though most of Washington and Manila is still caught inside it.

First let's go through the strange story of that election, the first one under the new Philippine constitution, which was approved by the voters in February.

Before the Cory revolution, the procedures for Philippine elections had been growing more and more rigorous in providing protection for opposition candidates. ("Revolution" is not my epithet, but the proud boast and official language of the Aquino loyalists.) But after the "triumph of people power" had installed a "new kind of government," it was felt that many of these procedures were no longer necessary —indeed, that they smacked of *lèse-majesté*.

The first election under the revolution had been a plebiscite to approve the new constitution—which provided that Cory Aquino and Salvador Laurel would continue as president and vice president until 1992, the end of the terms they had run for under the old constitution.

There was no national opposition party contesting the plebiscite. The main protector of the integrity of the vote was the citizens' group Namfrel (National Movement for Free Elections), which had been so influential in convincing the world that Cory had really defeated Marcos in the snap election of February 1986 (contradicting the vote canvass by the Marcos-controlled legislature, which showed a Marcos victory by 1.6 million votes).

The 76 per cent "yes" vote officially reported in the plebiscite was widely taken in Washington and Manila to be the final proof, if any were required, of Cory Aquino's extraordinary popularity—and of her status as a national leader who is not in the same category as ordinary political figures.

More skeptical observers had doubts about this "proof." First, Namfrel, the only organized source of protection against voting fraud, was known to be solidly pro Cory. Some Filipinos were nasty enough to allege that the vote in favor of the constitution might actually have been 10 per cent or even 20 per cent less than that reported. Of course, no politician had much incentive to cavil about the reported results—even 56 per cent "yes" would have been an ample margin, so what would be the point of trying to prove that Cory had got 56 per cent or 66 per cent instead of 76 per cent?

Moreover, these skeptics thought that many of the "yes" votes might have been evidence not of loyalty to Cory, but of eagerness for the opportunity promised by the constitution to vote out of power unpopular mayors and governors who had been appointed by Cory's revolutionary regime. If the constitution had been defeated, the appointed local officials were slated to stay in office indefinitely.

The next election scheduled was the legislative election of May 11. The people around Cory certainly were not skeptics. In the aftermath of Cory's apparently overwhelming triumph in the plebiscite, they seem to have believed that she was so extraordinarily popular that any candidate for senator whom she endorsed and campaigned for would get a majority in every region of the country, even running against regional favorites—although the Philippines is a country with strong regional loyalties.

Some of them may even have believed the myth enough to think that if *all* Cory's candidates didn't win in *every region* it would show that Cory wasn't really as popular as she was supposed to have been, and her political effectiveness would be reduced. Of course nobody could be that popular. Only people in the grip of something like a tulip mania could do political planning on the assumption that the Philippine people had such wild illusions.

IN ANY EVENT, Cory was led to endorse 24 candidates for the Senate. Since she had no real political party, the candidates she endorsed were from a number of the different factions and parties that constitute the Aquino administration. So, even if all 24 were elected, it wouldn't have assured her ability to control the Senate.

Nevertheless, Jaime Ferrer, Cory's Minister of Local Government, who has authority to designate and remove all local officials, told them all that he would replace the Officer-in-Charge (OIC) of any locality in which any of Cory's candidates didn't get a majority. (He also told them that they should not cheat.) The teachers, who had a big role in running the election, were given raises and bonuses by the Aqui-

Mr. Singer, who recently returned from Manila, is president of The Potomac Organization, his Washington consulting company. He is also an adjunct senior fellow of the Hudson Institute, which he founded with Herman Kahn in 1961.

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no administration shortly before the election; but at the same time they were made subject to dismissal as casual employees, without civil-service protection.

The ballots on May 11 had 24 blank lines, on which voters could write in up to 24 names from among the candidates whose petitions to run for the Senate had been accepted and whose names were listed in the nationwide announcements of the Commission on Elections (Comelec). The 24 candidates receiving the highest number of votes nationally were to be the new Senate. The ballots also had one line for voters to write in the name of one of the candidates from the local district for the lower house, with a plurality being sufficient for election in each of the two hundred districts.

For anyone who does not believe in fairy tales, the result of the reduced protections against fraud, the vulnerability of the teachers, and the pressure on local officials to deliver an extraordinary victory was perfectly predictable. Local officials scurried around in uncoordinated efforts to protect their jobs, each one needing a victory in his or her own jurisdiction, although the jurisdictions overlapped.

While there are always charges of fraud in Philippine elections, the May 11 returns were bizarre even by local standards. (Comelec still hadn't disentangled them enough to report complete official returns two months later. However, it seems that at least 21 out of 24 Cory-endorsed senators will be scored winners.) In hundreds of precincts the opposition was reported to have received zero votes, even when the opposition candidate lived in the precinct and had been a popular favorite for years. Namfrel not only acted as an "observer" but in many areas was deputized by Comelec (now run by Aquino appointees) to participate in vote-counting and other aspects of running the elections. In some areas it was very clear that the Namfrel representatives were working ardently for a Cory victory. In whole regions of the country Namfrel reported more votes for the Cory candidates than they reported ballots cast. In other places the reported returns could only have been correct if more than 80 per cent of the voters—who were mostly barely literate peasants—had taken the trouble to write in the names of all 24 Cory candidates, and had left no blank lines.

Out in the country the people could see what was happening. In one provincial capital angry voters seized the town hall and wouldn't leave for 11 days. But Manila opinion was dominated by the dream of Cory Aquino as a new kind of leader bringing a new era to the Philippines. First reports were ecstatic, about the unusual peace and tranquillity of the voting in the "cleanest elections in Philippine history." The petitions to Comelec and to the courts by candidates claiming to have been cheated were dismissed as the usual sour grapes—although never before had so many candidates taken legal action against an election.

There was a large demonstration in Manila against the fraudulence of the election. The Manila papers, almost all of which are controlled by the government or by Cory associates, underreported the crowds and denigrated the auspices and the purposes of the rally, which lasted more than 24 hours before it was broken up by authorities and toughs.

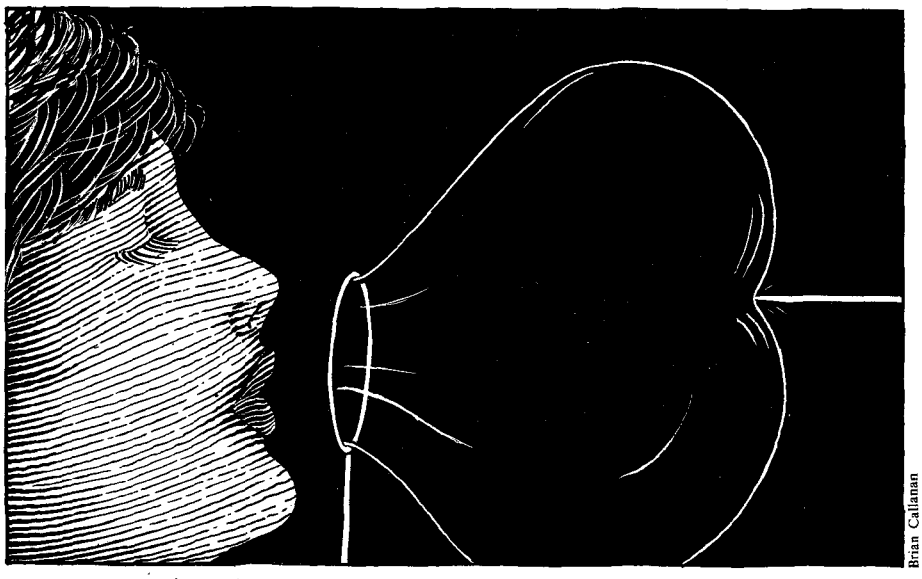
Gradually the evidence became too great to ignore. First the papers—and the administration—talked about "isolated defects" in the election. Then they began to admit that there had been widespread cheating, but supposedly by both sides, although the administration controlled the government at all levels throughout the country. Then the vice president, Salvador Laurel, admitted that in the next election they had better restore the protections against fraud used in previous elections. More recently Cory Aquino herself agreed that there had been extensive abuses, but she claimed that they were "no worse than under Marcos"—a devastating admission for her.

Still, neither the international press nor the American Embassy reported that anything was amiss. The grip of Cory mania was too strong. Fifty years after Orwell denounced the international reporting of the Spanish Civil War as completely divorced from reality, we still do not have reasonable sources of information about what happens abroad.

IF THE TRUTH about the Philippine election, or the extent of corruption under the Cory revolution, ever garners enough attention to burst the Cory bubble, and there is an opportunity for a rational assessment of Cory Aquino as president of the Philippines, what should be said of her performance?

Governing the Philippines is a tough assignment. Its population is around the 15th largest in the world, divided among half a dozen major languages and a dozen major islands, and it has a substantial Moslem minority, mostly in western Mindanao. It has a rough and ready democratic tradition—in some ways comparable to ours at the turn of the century, although somewhat more violent and with a somewhat worse reputation for corruption.

In the period before the turmoil and capital flight that began with the murder of Ninoy Aquino, the Philippines had achieved a quite respectable economic growth rate of 2.6 per cent per



Brian Callanan

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Brian Callanan

year per capita, a rate that would quintuple average incomes in one lifetime. It is still quite a poor country, with per-capita income under $700 a year. But it has excellent potential, primarily because of its relatively well-educated people, its location, and its strong connections with the United States. The main thing it needs is governmental stability and freedom from excessive government interference in the economy, whether such interference takes the form of corruption or "reform."

It will be possible to begin restoring the health of the economy when Filipinos begin to put their money back into Philippine businesses. But so long as Filipinos don't trust the political situation enough to invest their own money at home, the economy will probably continue to get worse. Certainly not much foreign investment can be expected.

Business had lost confidence in the Marcos regime. Partly this was because corruption had become a serious obstacle. And partly it was because the combination of the threat from the Communist New People's Army (NPA) and the strength of the anti-Marcos movement after the murder of Ninoy Aquino produced too much doubt about future political stability.

When Cory came to power she had the support of most of the business community. She also had the U.S. Government strongly behind her, and a great deal of international good will. There was a brief hope that political stability might be restored.

Cory also had good security prospects at first. The armed forces as they had been under Marcos were not capable of dealing with the NPA, the Communist guerrilla army. But freed of Marcos's restrictions, the military leadership, with Juan Ponce Enrile as defense minister and General Fidel Ramos as chief of staff, had the capability to make the armed forces good enough to stop, and probably slowly defeat, the NPA. After they acted to remove Marcos and bring Cory to power, Enrile and Ramos also had the political strength they needed (assuming they had been fully supported by Cory) to remove Marcos's "overstaying generals" and corrupt elements of the officer corps and convert the Philippine army into a unified and competent fighting force. In addition, the NPA's popular appeal had been hurt by the downfall of Marcos, who had been one of its principal targets.

Although she came to power through a military coup and popular demonstrations, Cory need not have developed a serious problem of legitimacy and political stability. Shortly after Marcos left and Cory was accepted as president, the majority of the legislature let her know that they were prepared to certify that she had won the election. Also that the members of the KBL, the Marcos party, in the legislature were prepared to turn over all the leadership positions to the opposition, so that Cory's supporters could control the legislature. There were even indications that many of the KBL legislators were prepared to resign so that Cory could have a solid legislative majority.

Many of the capable politicians and local political leaders of the Philippines who were nominally attached to the KBL were actually quite independent. The KBL had never had much reality as a party apart from Marcos, who had created it. With Marcos gone the party was in complete disarray. At least many, and probably most, of its members and leaders were quite prepared to support Cory now that she was in power—although of course there were some who were still loyal to Marcos. Cory could have taken charge of the existing system with ample power, if she had been more concerned about stability and legitimacy.

THE SITUATION that Cory faced with respect to the army needs to be explained; it doesn't fit either with the simple-minded anti-military views often heard here or with a straight defense of brave heroes defending their country. And it is the most critical issue of her regime.

In the early Fifties, the Philippine army had been corrupt and incompetent until Ramon Magsaysay became defense secretary. He cleaned it up and turned it into a sound professional force that was able to defeat the guer-

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rilla army of the Hukbalahaps. But after Marcos put the country under martial law in 1972, the army was again weakened by corruption and the use of political influence.

Fighting guerrilla forces in the countryside is demanding, dangerous, and unpleasant. Marcos had so weakened the Philippine army that it was no longer capable of carrying out this task in many areas. Lacking solid leadership from the top, the units sent to fight guerrillas often took the easy way out—protecting themselves and roughing up the unarmed people they were supposed to be defending.

But despite the serious record of military abuses in the fight against the NPA, and despite the use of the military in support of Marcos's political allies from time to time, the Philippine public has a generally favorable attitude toward its army. It is a "people's army" with strong ties to the ordinary citizen.

More than a generation of officers have been trained in the solid West Point tradition, with its ethic of civilian supremacy and of military professionalism. Under Marcos a large group of patriotic and professional officers —and not only young ones—chafed under the dominance of "political" officers supported by Marcos. However, they never tried to remove Marcos, partly because of the presence of Marcos loyalists in key spots, but also because of a fundamental reluctance to use military force to overthrow a civilian government, even one whose legitimacy was as severely blemished as Marcos's was.

Enrile and Ramos only moved against Marcos when they became afraid that he was about to arrest them, and when the United States had clearly turned against Marcos. Even then, they were very doubtful that the armed forces would follow them in their rebellion.

Cory had a dilemma. If she wanted to defeat the NPA she needed to turn the armed forces into a unified, competent, professional organization. But Cory and most of her closest advisors had a basic distrust of, and antipathy to, the military, as is normal in the world of radicals. They certainly were uneasy about the idea of a unified, competent, professional army, and they were more interested in using standard divide-and-rule techniques to prevent the military from presenting any threat to the government. They put officers with whom they had personal ties in key positions.

Thus 18 months after the Aquino revolution the army remains inadequate to the task of defeating the NPA insurgency. It is riven by corruption and political faction and lacks the *esprit* of a professional corps. The army could almost certainly defeat the NPA were professional standards restored; without such reform it almost certainly cannot.

Cory was also ambivalent about the NPA, for three reasons. First, because of her passionate hatred of the Marcos regime, she believed that the Communist threat would disappear when that regime was removed —although the statements and backgrounds of the NPA and Communist Party leadership provided little support for such an illusion.

Second, her radical views, and those of her husband and most of her close associates and advisors, led her to agree with much of the rhetoric of the NPA. She has a good deal of sympathy with their professed cause.

Finally, her family, the Cojuangcos, and her husband's family, the Aquinos, both had a history of good relations with the Communist armies, though both families were large landowners, and rich. This was a product partly of Philippine radical chic and partly of the traditional Oriental preference for trying to buy off enemies rather than fight them. For instance, the Communist army and the Cojuangco private army had mostly let each other alone, or even cooperated. And Cory had personal ties with Communist leaders like Bernabe "Commander Dante" Buscayno. Indeed, she may well feel that because of her personal connections with the Communists they would not hurt her. (A large share of Cory's presidential actions seem to be made on what most Americans would think was a strangely personal basis. In this she is following common Filipino practice—although perhaps to a degree that is more like Imelda than like Ferdinand Marcos.)

Cory's problem is that the army, and many of the people she is responsible for, have less "sophisticated" feelings. To them the NPA is an army

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attacking their country and killing their sons and brothers. Such people can become quite distressed if they perceive that their president's sympathies are divided between the army defending the country and the army attacking the country.

The key to protecting the Philippines from the NPA is to restore the effectiveness of the Philippine army. The army cannot be effective against the NPA until it has a capable and unified leadership, starting from the top; this cannot happen if there is any doubt that the military leadership has the support of the civilian government in the execution of its assigned tasks.

If Cory had been a wise, democratic leader, concerned with improving the security and living conditions of her people, what would her priorities have been? First, to try to create political stability—which would have given an immediate boost to the economy, and been the most effective way to fight poverty. Second, to strengthen the armed forces so that the danger from the NPA would begin to recede. Third, to fight against poverty by ending the constraints on business that the Marcos regime had installed as tools of extortion.

She could have achieved these three goals by accepting the offer from the legislature to govern under the existing constitution; by telling Enrile and Ramos that they had full authority and political backing to clean up the armed forces and go after the NPA; and by dropping most of the restrictions on business that had grown up in the last years of the Marcos regime. She could have accompanied this by an offer of amnesty to the NPA so that it could respond to the fall of Marcos by coming back into the society and the political process. If she felt she could not accept the Marcos constitution, she could have gone back to the 1935 constitution—which would have shown respect for traditional Philippine institutions, while denying the legitimacy of Marcos's constitution, and would have avoided the whole year of "revolutionary government" and unnecessary controversy that were required to write and ratify the new constitution.

Cory's actions indicate instead that her priorities were: improving the constitution, which she may have done; increasing international aid to the Philippines, which she also did; engaging in retribution against Marcos and everybody associated with him and his party; pursuing an obviously hopeless effort for reconciliation with the Communist Party and the NPA leadership; securing a great deal of power for a group of radical social reformers; and shielding herself from the need to behave like a democratic political leader who builds political support and negotiates with the major political forces in the country. Some Filipinos would add that one of her apparent priorities has been to build the power and wealth of her family and friends. Perhaps the most widely visible evidence of this is the swift spread throughout the country of the Philippine version of the numbers game, *jueteng*, under the protection of Cory's brother "Peping" Cojuangco; and the growth of Peping's "yellow army" in Tarlac Province.

Cory has allowed her unusually strong and far-reaching personal vindictiveness to influence her official actions to a degree that would be very unusual in the American experience. For example, the reason she once gave for not accepting the legislature's offer to install her as president under the existing constitution was that she didn't want to have to negotiate with "less than people"—that is, KBL legislators.

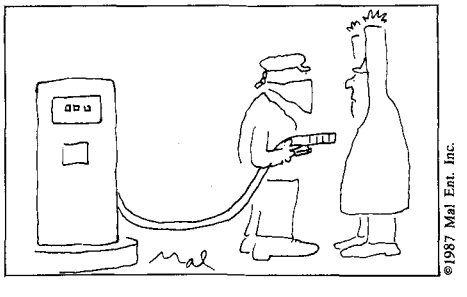
As a result, the business community has completely lost confidence in Cory; the expectation of political stability has gone down, and Filipinos aren't bringing their money back; much of the army has lost confidence in Cory; the NPA has grown stronger; and the legitimacy that had been almost achieved with the plebiscite is now in doubt because of the failure of the May 11 elections.

The abuse of the voting procedure in those elections was completely unnecessary. Whatever the results would have been if there had been a fair vote, Cory couldn't have been significantly hurt. And the attempt to achieve an unreasonable victory may lead to the downfall of her regime because it undercuts the legitimacy of the new legislature and casts doubt on whether the eagerly awaited local elections scheduled for November will be fair. It may eventually also create some doubt about the reported results of the plebiscite and about the claim that Cory really won the snap election in February 1986.

In addition to her failures to achieve political stability and legitimacy, to get the economy started again, to prevent massive corruption, and to turn or at least stem the tide of growing NPA power, Cory has also greatly increased the long-standing problem of rebellion in Mindanao. Her representatives have mishandled negotiations with rebel groups, and she gave Mindanao politicians fewer positions and less access to her government than they felt they had under Marcos.

The basic lesson of the Aquino bubble is that amateurs who are unwilling to take seriously the requirements of democratic leadership can't be expected to succeed in governing a tough country in challenging times. One must be willing to think nationally, not just personally, respecting and working with politicians and other leaders who may not be personal friends, to govern a country that is trying to be democratic. To the contrary, the Aquino administration has distinguished itself by its reliance on radical intellectuals and distaste for political leaders; its extraordinary vindictiveness not only to Marcos but also to all those associated with him, even indirectly; its lack of respect for law and for democratic procedures and processes; its ambivalence between the Philippine army and the Communist army; and, so far, its inability to take into the inner circle those who are not long-time personal friends or family members.

It seems unlikely, at this point, that the Aquino administration can be an effective one. Therefore the realistic questions seem to be whether there will be a disaster for the Philippines before the Aquino administration is changed, and if there is a change in time to avoid disaster, whether it will be for the better and enough of an improvement. □



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CAPITAL BULLETINS

Ollie? Golly!

CONSERVATIVE LEADERS report mixed response to Oliver North's testimony before Congress, but among the rank and file the vote is unanimous: Lieutenant Colonel North is an American hero. Ollie buttons are selling out; barbers in Washington, D.C., are reported besieged by kids wanting "Ollie cuts."

North's supporters send praise of him everyplace they can think of: to congressional offices, Marine Corps recruiting stations, conservative institutions, and Republican organizations. Steve Baldwin, executive director of YAF, says he has received hundreds of phone calls from people wanting to donate to North and to the Contras. "It's not your typical conservative donor," Baldwin reports; "a whole new type is being drawn out of the woodwork." "We've gotten innumerable calls from people wanting to know how they can donate," agrees David Hirschmann of the College Republican National Committee. "Even from people who say, 'Don't put me on your mailing list. I'm a Democrat, but I love Ollie.' "

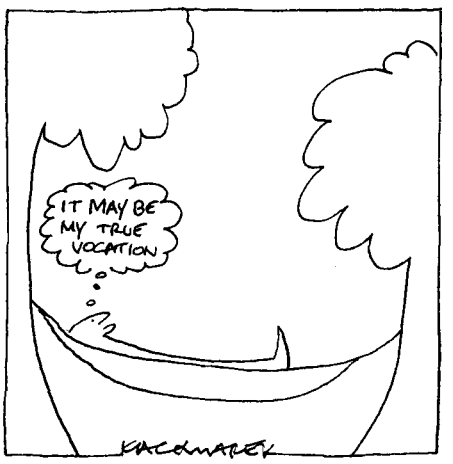
An aide to Congressman Jim Courter (R., N.J.) described the volume of calls and letters to Courter's office as "unprecedented." "Ninety-five per cent of those letters praise Colonel North," said Dennis Teti. "The other 5 per cent attack Congressman Courter for merely being on such an evil and misguided committee." Senator Inouye's office has maintained that telegrams to his office are running fifty-fifty. "That's a lie," says Teti. "If that's so, I'll eat those telegrams."

Before North's testimony, many conservatives didn't know what to make of the man Administration officials had called a "rogue colonel." A few days before North took the stand, Conservative Caucus chairman Howard Phillips appeared on a panel with Dole campaign advisor David Keene, Kemp advisor Ed Rollins, and Bush campaign manager Lee Atwater. Of the four, says Phillips, only he expressed unqualified admiration for North. "I have always been an admirer of Ollie," says Phillips. "He has renewed the hope for anti-Communists and given Reagan a new opportunity to campaign for more Contra aid."

But Ed Rollins says North's dramatic testimony hasn't changed his views. "He's earned the title 'hero' from his Vietnam experience," says Rollins. "But there needs to be checks and balances in the White House. Lying to Congress and conducting covert actions out of the basement—or third floor—of the White House is wrong."

David Keene concurs. "North has performed heroically before the committee," said Keene, "but even if you're a good man with good motives, it doesn't mean you can't mess things up." North's actions, Keene asserts, "have damaged our ability to aid the Contras and crippled the President."

Others dispute Keene's pessimistic assessment of North's effect on Contra aid. Teti believes the political situation hasn't changed that much since last June, when Congress voted aid to the Contras. House Minority Whip Trent Lott maintains North has given pro-Contra forces "some potential votes for Contra aid we haven't gotten in the past." Citing polls showing that a majority of Americans disapprove of Contra aid, House Democratic Whip Tony Coelho claims North's testimony has had no impact on Congress. "The American people agree with Ollie North that he's telling the truth, but they don't agree with what he's espousing," says Coelho. That, at least, is the Democratic leadership's hope when Contra aid comes up for a vote this fall. —TODD LENCZ



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Henry Klingeman, a former NR *editorial assistant, is working on a project under the auspices of the* Educational Reviewer.

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The Twilight Ozone

WHEN THE story broke that Interior Secretary Don Hodel urged President Reagan to scrap plans to protect the world's ozone layer, environmentalists were outraged. Let them wear sunglasses, tanning lotion, and hats, Hodel allegedly told the President. A coalition of environmental groups held a press conference, wearing hats and sunglasses, and called for Hodel's resignation. The *New York Times* editorialized about Hodel's "rose-colored sunglasses," and *The New Republic* blasted Hodel as a "Watt in sheep's clothing." The only trouble with this amusing tale of gaffe in high places is that it's simply not true.

"Those words never passed my lips," maintains Secretary Hodel, and some of his critics now agree. The day after the *Washington Post* broke the story, Senator Tim Wirth (D., Colo.) was on the Senate floor demanding an explanation. After corresponding with Hodel, Wirth admitted, "It appears as if he [Hodel] was misquoted, as if these statements were taken out of context. While many people have had a lot of fun with this issue and with the secretary, I think we ought to move beyond sunglasses, hats, and skin lotion . . ."

At issue is a proposed international agreement limiting production and use of chemicals some scientists believe deplete the ozone layer. Opponents of the agreement argue there is no firm scientific evidence linking the chemicals with ozone decay. At the Cabinet

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meeting that led to the misleading press reports, Hodel expressed reservations about the agreement being shaped by State Department and Environmental Protection Agency negotiators. Hodel supports the idea of an international protocol on ozone, but maintains State and EPA negotiators are overeager: "They seem determined to enter into any agreement whether or not it does any good," says Hodel. He believes State or EPA bureaucrats may have leaked the false quote in an attempt to embarrass him.

—Henry Klingeman

Free George Hansen?

Does the United States hold political prisoners? Well, at least one, according to Bonner Cohen of the Conservative Action Foundation (CAF): conservative ex-Congressman George Hansen of Idaho, currently serving time in federal prison for four counts of filing incomplete financial-disclosure forms. Calling Hansen a "victim of selective enforcement," CAF leaders are demanding that President Reagan commute Hansen's sentence to time served, and Cohen and CAF president Lee Bellinger are parading around Capitol Hill in a van—complete with "Don't Tread on Me" flags and patriotic music—collecting petition signatures.

Under the 1978 Ethics in Government Act, a member of Congress must file annual disclosures of his spouse's finances, as well as his own, unless he can show that he does not know about, contribute to, or benefit from his spouse's income. In April of 1984, Hansen has done enough hard time. "He has been adequately punished," in four transactions—two of which involved loans to his wife from or guaranteed by Texas billionaire Nelson Bunker Hunt.

Cohen contends that "scores and scores" of other congressmen have violated the act without doing time. In 1984, for example, former Representative Geraldine Ferraro failed to report her husband's financial assets and liabilities although she was an officer in his company and owned one of its three shares of stock. Both the House ethics committee and the Justice Department concluded her error had been unintentional and declined to prosecute.

Hansen's attorney, Frank Campbell, maintains that his client's violations were also unintentional. In 1977, Mr. and Mrs. Hansen filed for a legal separation of property. After the ethics bill passed in 1978, Hansen advised the ethics committee he would not be reporting his wife's finances as part of his own. According to Campbell, the committee never notified Hansen—as the ethics law required it to do—that his failure to disclose his wife's income might constitute a violation. But in 1984, the House voted to reprimand Hansen anyway. Its report concluded, "To rely on advice of [the committee], Congressman Hansen would have to seek the advice in good faith, provide all material facts, and then follow the advice given . . . There is evidence that he failed all three requirements."

Despite the committee's findings, Cohen argues, "it's conspicuous that the one person fingered is a conservative. . . . People whose feathers he ruffled are in a position to take revenge." "Hansen has been a scofflaw all his life," responds James Shelledy, editor of the *Idahonian Daily News*. In 1975, Hansen pleaded guilty to two charges of filing late and false campaign-finance reports from his 1974 House primary race. Still, says Shelledy, Hansen has learned his lesson. "A month in jail would have been good enough," he says. Even Representative Barney Frank (D., Mass.) agrees that Hansen has done enough hard time. "He has been adequately punished," says Representative Frank. "So long as Reagan doesn't maintain it was wrong to jail Hansen in the first place, it would seem totally reasonable to me to let him go."

—David Klinghoffer

Voice Of The Evil Empire

Thanks to Fidel Castro, Radio Moscow can now be heard on AM radios throughout southern Florida. On May 23, the Soviet Union began broadcasting in English on the 1040 kHz band from a station in Cuba. According to an official report, the quality of programming is such that Radio Moscow's broadcasts "are not likely to become addictive."

They are, however, illegal. According to Charles Wick, Director of the United States Information Agency, the 1040 AM band is registered as an American station. Wick recently returned from Moscow where he met with Aleksandr Yakovlev, Soviet chief of propaganda, to express grave concern over the Soviets' piracy of American airwaves.

This is only Wick's latest tangle with the Soviets over control of the airwaves. In January of 1985, Wick discussed exchanging television and medium-wave radio broadcasts with the Soviets. The talks foundered when the Soviets refused to stop jamming Voice of America broadcasts, although the Soviets are signatories to three treaties that forbid such jamming.

Last fall at Reykjavik, Wick met with Yakovlev, who offered to end VOA jamming if the U.S. would accept Radio Moscow transmissions to U.S. territory. According to Leon Aron, a Heritage Foundation fellow, the Reykjavik meetings led to the Soviets' recent decision to decrease jamming of VOA broadcasts. But Wick and the State Department deny any deal was struck. Wick says all jamming of Western broadcasts must cease before negotiations allowing Soviet access to U.S. radio can progress.

Even if the Soviets stopped all jamming, problems with the proposed deal remain. According to Dr. Donald Browne, an expert on Soviet broadcasting, the Soviets are less concerned about the day-to-day content of Western broadcasts than with clamping down on external news sources during periods of internal crisis. Jamming of BBC and VOA had been stopped in 1963, but was resumed during the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. It stopped again in 1973, but started up again when the Polish government moved to crush Solidarity.

In January of this year, the Soviets stopped jamming BBC; in May, they eased up on VOA. However, Wick points out, the Soviets continue to jam VOA broadcasts in Polish and broadcasts directed to Afghanistan. Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty (whose programming concentrates on events within the Eastern bloc), he said, recently noticed an *increase* in Soviet interference. Given the Soviets' record of periodic jamming, no deal may be the best deal of all.

—Bryan R. Johnson

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CHANGING ITALY

THE ITALIAN political system provides a constant source of stimulation and entertainment. It features uneasy coalitions, shifting cabinets, and always the possibility that the government may fall tomorrow.

In last month's elections, the most was made of opportunities to engage the voters' attention and stage a show. The small Radical Party was in particularly fine fettle: One of its candidates was a nightclub porn star, who, in the course of the campaign, frequently displayed her beautiful breasts. Italy is, after all, the country of the Renaissance, not of the Reformation.

The government whose fall had precipitated the election had been a multiparty coalition, the largest of the parties being the Christian Democrats. However, the CD needed the Socialists' help to govern; the deal they had struck involved allowing Socialist Party leader Bettino Craxi to hold the premiership for a while, and then turn it over to the Christian Democratic leader. When the time came, however, Craxi—who, it must be said, had governed Italy quite successfully for years without interruption (a true miracle in that country)—wanted desperately to continue in that post, but the Christian Democrats were wary. Italy's new prosperity, they reasoned, would be attributed to the Socialists, and not to them. So, trying to regain the leadership they had held throughout most of the country's postwar history, they canceled the coalition pact, thus forcing elections.

As it turned out, the Christian Democrats have now once again taken the leadership of the coalition; it remains to be seen whether they can hold it. In any case, Italy's political problem—its need for a stable, trustworthy government capable of making intelligent plans for the future—remains totally unsolved.

But if nothing much is changing on the Italian political scene, a great deal—is changing in other aspects of Italian life.

Before 1922 the Kingdom of Italy was characterized by sharp class differences, based on economic standing, with the agrarian sector showing as much revolutionary fervor as the industrial one. Fascism was originally a dissident Socialist movement among Central Italian peasants. When it established its dominant power between 1922 and 1925, it officially rejected anarchism, but its anarchical roots were never entirely forgotten: When Vanzetti's ashes were buried near Naples, Luigi Rusticucci wrote an apologia entitled the *Tragedy and Martyrdom of Sacco and Vanzetti*, for which Mussolini's brother Arnaldo contributed a preface.

With the end of Fascism, Italy returned to democratized anarchy. Those provinces which had been strongholds of Fascism—Emilia-Romagna and Tuscany—turned Red. The Socialists scored high elsewhere, while the Christian Democrats, very successful in the beginning, lost ground steadily.

From the 1960s on, in the course of modernization, Italy's social structure has been changing continuously. This process has been very aptly described by the Roman sociology professor Paolo Sylos Labini in his latest book, *Social Classes in the Eighties*. Labini shows us that the Italian peasantry, which at the beginning of this century accounted for half the population, is down to nearly 10 per cent, while the working class, which increased steadily until the Seventies, is also now shrinking. The old and the new middle classes are both gaining momentum, and wage scales are shifting. Today there are highly qualified blue-collar workers who earn more than many white-collar employees. The "proletariat" is disappearing and with it, automatically, the appeal of the Communist Party. The intellectuals, too, are leaving the sinking ship like rats. Class-consciousness is on the way out.

The weakness of Communism is due to the fact that the Italians are not genuine Marxists at all: Try to imagine them favoring a huge, state-owned, regimented, and bureaucratically controlled economy and a totalitarian state. Like the Spaniards, they were and are anarchists at heart; the label pinned to Irish-Americans during the late 1800s by irate, disciplined Yankees—"Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion"—also applies to them (except that the Italians prefer wine to rum).

THERE IS much state control and bureaucracy in Italy, but thanks to the Italian character it is flexible and can be circumvented in countless ways. A quarter of a century ago income taxes were arbitrarily fixed by the authorities, largely in accordance with outside appearances—an unbearable situation elsewhere. But in Italy the infuriated citizen could make a row in the appropriate office, complain that the dowries of his daughters were being annihilated, that his wife would leave him and his student son cut his wrists—until the deeply moved officials agreed to let him pay only a fraction of the prescribed sum. Later an experiment was made in one province with an income-tax declaration like those used in the rest of the civilized world, and, lo and behold, the state got much more revenue than before.

And all over this political and economic landscape there is a great deal of *umanità*. I am an old and experienced hitchhiker and practice this sport every summer in the nearby, ethnically mixed Dolomites. Last summer I was given 18 rides: one by a Tyrolean, one by a German, and 16 by Italians. Northern Europeans are usually afraid of legal liabilities in case of accident. The Italians, to their glory, don't seem to reflect very much but simply want to be kind. □

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THE ADVENTURES OF SIDNEY HOOK

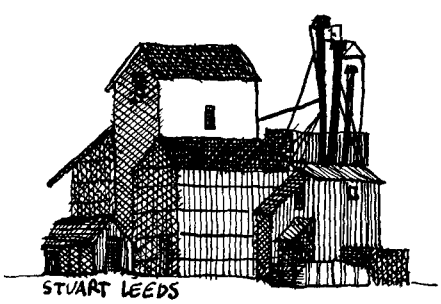
M. E. Bradford

Out of Step: An Unquiet Life in the Twentieth Century, by Sidney Hook (Harper & Row, 628 pp., $29.95)

ACCORDING TO the customary definition of the role of the philosopher, the life of thought is supposed to be a distanced and serene overview of what is to be known concerning the nature of things—and of the act of knowing, the way the systematic mind proceeds. But with Sidney Hook this familiar vocational archetype is completely inapplicable. Not that Professor Hook has neglected the disinterested priorities of his discipline. Since he first, in 1927, joined the Department of Philosophy at New York University, he has properly attended to his primary vocation—has taught and written of developments in modern philosophy from the special vantage of his own version of pragmatism. Even in his new book, at the age of 84, Hook continues to maintain that "looking back from the perspective of the veteran of the many wars and feuds of the academy, one cannot fail to be impressed with how unimportant they all seem in the light of genuine scholarly achievement." Yet though he speaks of it as "a diversion from my primary interest," it is the rest of his intellectual life that makes this philosopher exceptional.

Hook's adventures in the public arena have been of the kind we would expect in the life of a thinker who has always regarded his reflection as not descriptive or analytic but instrumental: a means of "redetermining within limits not only ourselves but our society and to some extent even our natural environment." *Out of Step* is primarily an autobiography of this topical, contentious, dramatic side of Sidney Hook's life. And, because of Hook's importance in the events that he reconstructs, it is a mirror of his place and time: a fascinating contribution to our understanding of why, since the watershed years of 1928-1939, our national character has steadily eroded toward a nadir that all of us can now foresee.

Sidney Hook's account of how he became a radical and, for a few years, a Communist fellow-traveler is particularly instructive—notably to American intellectuals from the South and West who, in most cases, cannot imagine living through such an evolution. Hook writes memorably of growing up in a working-class Jewish family in Brooklyn, of public school, CCNY, rough Irish boys, brawling, trouble-making in class, and the formation of a free and inquiring mind.



The brightest of Hook's friends were, like himself, originally attracted to ideas of a planned society and welfare state, not by notions of efficiency or increased productivity, but by an "apparent rationality" and "heroic element," by the "sense of human fraternity" embodied in the rhetoric of every kind of socialism: in other words, "on ethical ground." In retrospect, Hook grants readily that the New York Left, of which he was a guiding spirit as early as 1930, was over-sanguine in its confidence that there would be no harm in concentrations of state power assembled to pursue ostensibly worthwhile goals. He concedes further that these intellectuals failed to recognize the importance of incentives to the successful operation of any modern society, and that they were indifferent to the link between "strict construction" of the Constitution and a government of laws. Finally, they were, from the beginning, oblivious to the fact that New York was not America—still a common form of myopia in Professor Hook's world.

Sidney Hook began to put distance between himself and much of the American Left even as he acquired authority within that community—an authority derived from integrity and a lifelong commitment to human freedom. For the same reason that he is truly a public man, Hook was never really a proper ideologue and therefore was never swallowed up in any of the massive collective enthusiasms of his era. As he put it himself, he could admire "Voltaire, but not Robespierre"—could, even when they were of his party, disparage doctrinaires who perceived "in the ambiguities of political maneuver" only "needless hy-

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Jeffrey Meyers's forthcoming books include Manic Power: Robert Lowell and His Circle *(Arbor House) and* Robert Lowell: Interviews and Memoirs *(University of Michigan).*

Joe Mysak is Assistant Managing Editor of The Bond Buyer.

Jacob Neusner is University Professor and Ungerleider Distinguished Scholar of Judaic Studies at Brown University.

Robert Royal is Vice President for Research at the Ethics and Public Policy Center, Washington, D.C.

John Wooten is a professor of English at the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland.

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RANDOM NOTES

☐ More August Titles: In *William Faulkner: The Man and the Artist* (Harper & Row, $22.50), Stephen B. Oates attempts to use certain of the techniques of his subject's own craft in rendering the novelist's life and its relationship to his art.

Empire: The Life and Times of William Paley (St. Martin's/Thomas Dunne, $19.95), by Lewis J. Paper, looks to be an excellent biography of the chairman—still, at 85—of CBS, whom the author describes as "the single most important person in the history of broadcasting."

In *The Court and the Constitution* (Houghton Mifflin, $19.95), Archibald Cox attributes the success of the U.S. Constitution to its Framers' having said "enough, but not too much."

Freedom (Doubleday, $24.95), by William Safire, is a work of historical fiction, 1,152 pages in length, full of historical, legal, political, and military analysis, and, in short, defying competent mention in this department.

Pope John Paul II: Pilgrim of Peace (Harmony, $25), with a foreword by Joseph Cardinal Bernardin and with photographs by Arturo Mari, consists of excerpts from the homilies and addresses of John Paul, and official color prints made available by the Vatican.

☐ Coming in September: Martin Amis's novel *Success* (Harmony, $14.95) appears this fall in the United States nine years after its original publication in England. It is witty, mordant, socially unfashionable, and very well written.

Outlaws (Holt, Rinehart, $17.95), by George V. Higgins, ranges across a forty-year period, from the 1940s to the 1980s, and contains a large and varied cast of characters, centering on the trial (in 1978) of a group of radical Sixties activists on charges of robbery and multiple murder.

—CW

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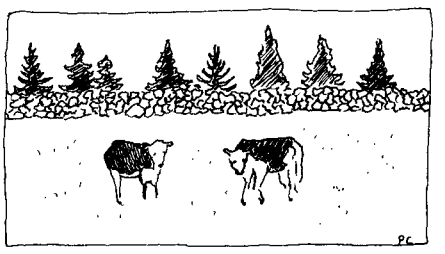
pocrisy"; who could not accept that "the policy of the lesser evil" is "the center of any realistic conception of the political life." But despite the great gulf that, over several decades, has opened up between social democrats and the totalitarian Left, it is in his accounts of earlier times when Marx was *the* central thinker for *everyone* on his side of the spectrum —when *all* of the factions attempted to act in concert—that Hook's narratives are of greatest interest.

Though he may tell us more than we are ready to digest, more of conferences and petitions, manifestos and factional schisms, Hook's recollection is invaluable as a chronicle of what it felt like to move within that turbulent current, a wave of fond hope that an influential minority of Americans once believed was certain to bring about the revolution promised in the secular theology of their chosen prophets. In particular, Hook gives us an anatomy of the shallow leftism of the late-arriving *literati*: those who had never thought seriously about politics or economics before the Crash—who, in the shock of the Depression, lost their inherited faith in freedom, "their moorings in the society they had grown up in," and thus came sentimentally to admire the regime of Lenin and Stalin as "the planned society where the dislocation to which they reacted could not recur."

Sidney Hook's leftism was of another kind. Having read the "holy texts" of Marxism, having written the commentary and thought the matter through, knowing a broad cross-section of American and European intellectuals, Hook backed away from their cause and began to emphasize the tyrannical record of real, as opposed to theoretical, Marxism. Moreover, because of who he was and how he came to such conclusions, Hook drew many people after him. As much as any other public figure of his time, he deserves to be honored for having diminished Soviet influence over American political and intellectual life.

I value especially Professor Hook's narrative of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, his summary of the origins of *Partisan Review*, and his history of the Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky. Because he is an eminently reasonable man, he gives good accounts of the organized irrationality of others. But the really extraordinary sections of *Out of Step* are the extended portraits that appear throughout the book: of Elliot Cohen, William Barrett, Max Eastman, Bertrand Russell, John Dewey, Whittaker Chambers, Dwight Macdonald, Philip Rahv, Delmore Schwartz, Lionel Trilling, Bertolt Brecht, James Burnham, Arthur Koestler, and many others. Hook usually builds each sketch from a revealing detail or incident that summarizes what might be tedious in strictly expository form. These sketches render as living truth what is formally inert in the calculus of the philosopher.



Which brings me to mention what is missing in *Out of Step*: the lyrical "I" that is at the heart of the autobiographical act—the *rest* of Sidney Hook. Those who know the author recognize him as a gregarious, infinitely curious, most engaging man. His book could have been better had he given more of himself to the persona that speaks in its pages: had he been seen as he saw others, in the round. For ideas are not disembodied entities that fight it out on their own merits, as Professor Hook very well knows. The strength that his life has embodied involves something more than intellectual conviction.

Finally, in the moral energy of Hook's memoir there is something encouraging—something in *his* New York and *his* academy like the shore of Dante's Island of Purgatory, where Cato, that great symbol of rational freedom, is the presiding spirit. In one place Hook tells us about the Tenth International Congress of Philosophy, held in Amsterdam in August of 1948. The Communists were present—presumptuous, abusive, and absurd—making outrageous defenses of the grim and pitiless regimes for which they spoke. The philosophers of the West at first divided into their familiar schools of thought. They disputed over the roles of science and religion, about idealism and realism, positivism and the doctrine of the immortal soul. But on the priority of freedom as a precondition of their discourse they came together as has the free world since Darius, the Great King of the East, first demanded earth and water from Spartans and Athenians. And as at Marathon, they smote the minions of Oriental despotism in their traces, "driving them back to their ships." Violations of their profession were not to be tolerated, even by the most tolerant of men. The story is an exciting one, made the more so by its telling, and by the presence of Sidney Hook in its midst. ☐

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AN IDEOLOGY OF BLOOD

Jacob Neusner

The History of the Jews, by Paul Johnson (Harper & Row, 629 pp., $25)

THE FAMED British journalist Paul Johnson wields his magic pen to tell the wonderful tale of the Jews. But the enchantment does not hold, because, in the end, you can't turn four millennia of diverse and scarcely intersecting stories into a single, unitary, linear, harmonious history—which is what Johnson pretends to do, with intellectually disastrous results.

Jews have had histories. The Jews have not. No single line runs from Abraham in Ur to Jerusalem in the State of Israel. For Johnson, most unhappily, there's no "the" there. Most Jews' stories do not get told in this crowd-pleasing rehearsal of ethnic self-love. For to have a single unitary history, you have to have a continuing social group, living in one place, speaking one language, responding to the requirements of a cogent culture, working out one destiny. Then you may have a coherent story: the history of Germany, the history of France. You do have histories of Jews in India or England, Poland or Peru. These histories do have beginnings and middles, and some of them have tragic endings, others, happy ones. But these histories do not connect. That is why what Johnson tells is not history but a fairy tale, a masque for ideology. For his beginning and his ending bear a message. This is the Israeli version of Jews' histories: the history of those Jews who matter from the Israeli perspective. And that leaves out those Jews not living in the State of Israel today, and most Jews outside of Europe in times past.

The facts simply do not sustain Johnson's conception. True, in First Temple times, down to 586 B.C., the Jews began all at once. But from the beginning of the writing down of their traditions in the Pentateuch, *c.* 450 B.C., they have lived in many places, spoken many languages, worked out their lives as a diverse set of social groups. What joins the history of Jews in Morocco to the history of Jews in Poland? Not language, not culture, not politics, not common patterns of historical events.

True, there was, and is, religion. But if you appeal to a common religion, then the single history to be written is not the history of Jews, it is the history of Judaism. Yet here, too, the facts intervene. For different groups of Jews have always defined for themselves each its own distinctive way of life and world view and definition of that social entity that, in its system, constitutes "Israel." The conception of a single Judaism contradicts the facts of everyday life today and throughout the past.

Paul Johnson enthusiastically chose to leap into this mess of contradiction and conceptual confusion and to write a history of the Jews, viewed not from the perspective of theology as holy Israel, God's first love, but entirely in this-worldly terms. His book tells the story with fervor and high esteem, with the result that the ethnic-Jewish reviewers hail it as "good for the Jews." And so it may be. But is it good history? I think not. It is ideology cloaked in colorful narrative, and masquerading as learning. Johnson begins with Abraham and runs through a potted history of Biblical times, then an uncertain and uncritical reprise of Second Temple times. From that point, the single, unitary line trails off. For, even in pre-Christian centuries, large numbers of Jews lived in Egypt and elsewhere in the Greco-Roman world, and still larger numbers in Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Iran proper, Armenia, and eastward to Afghanistan and India. But what is Johnson to do with these groups?

He solves this problem by deciding which Jews, at any given time, are the history-making ones—and ignoring the rest. But even then, he will pick and choose an occasional fact concerning a Jewish milieu otherwise ignored; that fact he tosses in, among any number of other equally adventitious choices. Thus, wild confusion marks pages that, in succession, cover anti-Semitism; the Jews in the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Counter-Reformation; then a leap to Eastern Europe, and a jump into the Thirty Years' War; the court Jew; the massacres in the Polish Ukraine of 1948; then back to mysticism; then the Jews' arrival in England, and their settlement in New York—a mishmash of topics that have

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only one thing in common: They involve Jews, here, there, everywhere.

But the linear story covers the confusion of individual chapters and paragraphs. The single, unitary history runs from Abraham through the destruction of the Second Temple—that is, the Jews in the land of Israel ("Palestine")—then here and there, but mainly in Europe; and, finally, back to Zion, in our own time. So we may say that, for Johnson, the Jews' histories really gain shape and composition in relationship to the land, and where the history is linear and coherent, it is because it takes place in the Holy Land. That explains the stunning imbalances of the book, with four of its seven parts devoted to the 3,500 years from Abraham to 1800, and three to the past two hundred years (emancipation, Holocaust, Zion). In the aggregate, those Jews made history who lived in the land, then went into exile in Europe, then came back to the land after the Holocaust.

This selectivity of vision identifies for us the ideology implicit in Johnson's history. It is the ideology of blood and peoplehood that sees unities of genealogy and national history, and that regards the "exile" of A.D. 70 and the "return" of 1948 as the beginning and the ending of the dark "middle ages." Johnson's general scheme accords with the prevailing norms of Israeli historiography, as a comparison of this book with Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson's *A History of the Jewish People* will suggest.

It is understandable that Israelis should find Johnson's narrative appealing. But why distinguished American Jewish theologians should declare the book "good for the Jews" (an ethnic and private judgment, which I should have hoped they would have been embarrassed to make in public) when it treats as trivial and inconsequential the formation of a lasting, stable, strong, and culturally self-confident Jewish world in America and Canada, I cannot say. In any case, the book is a best-seller, so it must be telling people what they want to hear. But pseudo-history made up of facts selected to fit the case ill suits the ideological and apologetic task confronting Jews wherever they may live today. Given the state of Jewish cultural politics in America, Johnson was assured of acclaim for his meretricious exercise in pandering charlatanism. □

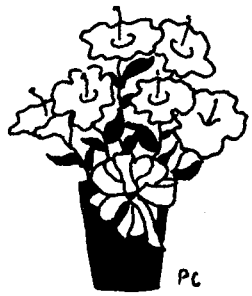
PAX ROMANA

Robert Royal

Will It Liberate? Questions about Liberation Theology, by Michael Novak (Paulist Press, 311 pp., $14.95)

Tranquillitas Ordinis: The Present Failure and Future Promise of American Catholic Thought on War and Peace, by George Weigel (Oxford, 489 pp., $27.50)

A FREQUENT FAILING of books that claim to provide a religious basis for worldly projects is a conspicuous lack of worldly wisdom. The authors are gentle as doves—they often *are* "doves" politically. But they seem to have forgotten about being wise as serpents. Their idealism wings its way through the air, unencumbered by facts and undisciplined by intellect.



These two splendid volumes in no way share those typical failings. Both arrive at "neoconservative" political conclusions, but engage in serious historical and intellectual argument with their opponents. If they have a common fault, it is the gentleman scholar's—treating some opponents with a good deal more intellectual seriousness than they merit.

Indeed, in *Will It Liberate?* Michael Novak admits that he admires liberation theology for its "intellectual ambition." The liberationists, he says, want to answer all the big questions. They make North American theologians look timid by comparison. But, since liberationist thinkers focus so vehemently on praxis, Novak says: Fine, let's look at the practice you advocate. Let's ask: What is life going to be like after the revolution?

If the result will often be, willingly or not, a mixture of religion and Leninism as in Daniel Ortega's Nicaragua, with ingredients borrowed from Castro's Cuba, perhaps it's worth looking again at *theory*. Latin Americans generally have a natural inclination, given their history, toward state-centered solutions. Capitalism is a dirty word in Latin America: Many Latin Americans assume that they have been living under capitalism, and that their societies are confirmations of Marxist theory.

In fact, most Latin American countries are more mercantilist than capitalist, and Marx's major social, political, and economic—as well as religious—predictions have been falsified by history. Understanding all this leads to some new questions about what it is that liberation theologians really want for the people. Novak is splendid in explicating the "inner will of socialism" and deftly encourages liberationists to broaden their vision.

Most liberation theologians have not paid sufficient attention to the institutions of liberty. In his inspiring final chapter, Novak concedes, "In general, the philosophers of the liberal society have been better at making the institutions of liberty work in practice, than at making explicit their own philosophic presuppositions." But here Novak not only makes explicit the principles of liberty, he shows how the principles of socialism embraced by most liberation theologians are likely to lead to continued poverty and perhaps even worse political oppression. We all, South and North Americans alike, should therefore become better reacquainted with the principles and institutions of freedom.

George Weigel's large and lucid *Tranquillitas Ordinis* arrives at the same conclusion. His profound call for American Catholics to restudy the significance of the American experiment announces the arrival of a strong new voice in the discussion of the Catholic Church's role in public policy.

The modern world faces an immense struggle to survive between the pit of totalitarianism and the fire of modern warfare, says Weigel. Hence our principal concern should be the one that Camus identified: how to avoid becoming either victims or executioners. For this, in addition to good intentions we need stronger intellectual analysis within the Catholic Church and Western society generally.

Weigel sees the rich Catholic tradition of the just war as offering potentially important contributions to political debates that have become too narrow. The phrase from St. Augustine used in his title suggests that just-war theory is actually a theory of peace. Augustine's "peace is the tranquillity of order" was meant, says Weigel, to illustrate that the main purpose of politics is to control the use of power. As Weigel interprets it, *tran-*

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quillitas ordinis, far from being a merely static concept, means "the peace of public order in dynamic political community."

American Catholicism, best exemplified in the seminal work of John Courtney Murray, understood the large convergences between Catholic views on human dignity and the limited state on the one hand, and the founding principles of the American Republic on the other. The "Murray Project," says Weigel, needed to be developed further. But with the crisis of American society during the 1960s, this tradition of moderate realism was largely abandoned. Weigel traces the Church's steps toward that abandonment through figures such as Dorothy Day, Thomas Merton, Gordon Zahn, James Douglass, and the Berrigans. He also gives a valuable sketch of the political views of Father J. Bryan Hehir, the bishops' chief advisor for their 1983 pastoral letter on war and peace.

Weigel articulates perhaps as well as any other recent scholar our obligation to seek an ordered liberty. He even welcomes pacifists to contribute to this end. Indeed, in his view, a pacifist should feel an even greater sense of urgency in supporting and developing democratic structures, since he can have no recourse to military solutions in international predicaments. If you don't want to fight the Soviet Union, you have a responsibility to find ways to contain and ultimately change it.

Remarkably, the initial reaction to this book has been to strain at the meaning Weigel gives to the tradition rather than to engage his sophisticated political arguments. The mere assumption that he is conservative has blinded many early commentators to the fact that Weigel has already met them halfway in proposing new common thinking about: combining the best elements of détente and containment in dealings with the Soviet Union; establishing a democratic international structure to deal with conflicts; and, most importantly, re-examining the meaning of the American experiment.

I think that at least the first two suggestions are unlikely to bear much fruit, except negatively. There is no real alternative to nuclear deterrence of the Soviet Union. Nor could any international organization (Weigel acknowledges the obvious shortcomings of the UN) plausibly substitute for the balance of power as we have known it. Weigel is a sophisticated historian and has no illusions that rethinking these problems will lead to easy solutions. Instead, I suspect, he is engaged in inviting Catholic liberals to recognize precisely how impossible it is to promote peace, justice, *and* liberty using current liberal principles.

This invitation, alas, may go unheeded. Both Novak and Weigel have written serious studies that welcome intellectual debate, but it is not immediately apparent that their adversaries appreciate the stimulus to new thought. Both appear confident that at some point many thinkers will see the need to rediscover the moral meaning of American liberty. Be that as it may, Michael Novak and George Weigel have already made a strong start toward filling that need. □

THE VICTORS' TABLE

Joe Mysak

Winston S. Churchill: The Road to Victory, 1941-1945, by Martin Gilbert (Houghton Mifflin, 1,417 pp., $40)

THE SEVENTH volume of the authorized biography of Winston Churchill takes the Great Man through the defeat of Nazi Germany by one of the most remarkable and unlikely alliances ever assembled. It also details the rise of the modern Soviet state.

Martin Gilbert, as in previous volumes, presents Churchill's daily routine with little analytical comment, but the reader cannot fail to be impressed by Churchill's genius for statecraft and sheer capacity for work. He threw himself into the business at hand, concerning himself with even the smallest details (beer rations; how to choose code words) and playing the British hand with consummate skill. Unfortunately, this included legitimizing the Soviet Union.

Churchill was one of the earliest and most eloquent anti-Communists. He very early realized the true nature of the Soviet regime, in 1922 terming it "one of the worst tyrannies that has ever existed in the world." Twenty years later, he admitted of his allies, "It would be a measureless disaster if Russian barbarism overlaid the culture and independence of the ancient states of Europe." And in 1943 he stated, "Stalin is an unnatural man. There will be grave troubles."

But the enemy of my enemy, especially if my enemy is Adolf Hitler, is ever my friend, and so Churchill, as he put it, "wooed" Stalin. This included not only supplying Russia by convoy, despite nearly ruinous losses due to submarine warfare, but also agreeing to Russian "zones of influence" in the postwar world, browbeating the Polish government-in-exile in London to accept drastically redefined

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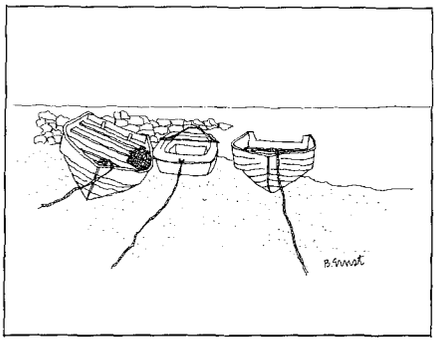
borders, and repatriating all Russian nationals taken prisoner. Churchill recalled the days when Britain fought the Nazis alone, and faced extinction —with Russian complicity. "Don't let's all be too spiteful about the past," he advised the Soviets when they pointed out that Franco had earlier allowed the Nazis to use Spain as a supply depot. "All the same it was very good that Franco did not let the Germans through to attack Gibraltar and get across into North Africa."

The payoff was the Eastern Front, at times the only bright spot in the war, with Stalin's armies racking up some impressive, and heroic, victories. But as soon as the Allies had a foothold in Italy, Churchill looked ahead and advocated fighting through Italy to the Adriatic, and liberating Yugoslavia, the Balkans, and perhaps even Austria before the Red Army arrived. Churchill did manage to save Greece from Communist domination, but the Balkan strategy was overruled. No one today doubts the wisdom of attacking Germany through France, except perhaps a few million souls behind the Iron Curtain.

The rise of the Soviet Union to its place at the victors' table is the consistent theme of *The Road to Victory*. Equally painful, however, is the story of the fall of Poland.

In every instance, the Poles were expected to compromise their interests for the sake of the Alliance. In 1943, for example, Churchill could only tell the Polish government in London that it was "probably true" that the eight thousand Polish officers discovered in a mass grave in Katyn Forest were murdered by the Russians in 1939: "The Bolsheviks can be very cruel." In 1944, he remonstrated with Stalin for stopping just short of the gates of Warsaw while the Polish Home Army, badly overmatched, rose up against the Nazis. Little was done to aid the Warsaw Poles, who in any event were "liquidated" by Stalin upon the Nazis' departure. Finally, in a burst of summitry frenzy entirely too familiar today, Churchill told the London Poles, "You are absolutely incapable of facing facts. Never in my life have I seen such a people," and accused them of trying to wreck the Alliance and start another world war with their *Liberum Veto*, the seventeenth-century absolute veto over legislation every Polish noble enjoyed.



Churchill was occasionally dreamy about Uncle Joe. One can take a certain perverse satisfaction from the Poles' recognizing Stalin for what he was, and from General Wladyslaw Anders's confiding to Churchill, "After having beaten the Germans, we shall beat the Muscovites." On most matters, however, Churchill remained the realist; well before free and open Polish elections proved chimerical, Churchill told one of his secretaries: "Make no mistake, all the Balkans, except Greece, are going to be Bolshevized; and there is nothing I can do to prevent it. There is nothing I can do for poor Poland either." But the Yalta Conference, with its promise of sanity and order in a world of V-1 and V-2 rockets, firebombing, and Russian greed, beckoned mightily. As *The Road to Victory* shows, Stalin knew what he wanted.

Mr. Gilbert has once again done a workmanlike job in assembling the official narrative out of thousands of documents, diaries, and letters. His final volume, covering the subject's last twenty years, is due for release this fall, apparently around the time of the second volume of William Manchester's *The Last Lion*, a richer, more stylish, and more accessible work about WSC. If you start now, you might be ready for both of them by Thanksgiving. □

MACHINE-AGE LIT

Joseph Sobran

The Mechanic Muse, by Hugh Kenner (Oxford, 136 pp., $13.95)

THE *New York Times* has already done this brilliant little book the singular honor of two dismissive reviews, both of which deemed it an idiosyncratic trifle. Six hundred pages of heavy thesis, certified by name-dropping, footnotes, and maybe an advance blurb from, say, Alfred Kazin (along the lines of "an important contribution . . . a magnificent achievement"), would perhaps have secured it due respect.

True to form, Hugh Kenner widens our field of attention in order to enhance our appreciation of modern literature. His topic is machinery, abhorrent to all right-thinking lit majors. *The Mechanic Muse* shows that it's no accident that the Modernist movement arose in the midst of technological explosion. The machine interested and inspired Eliot, Pound, Joyce, and Beckett, not as a subject to write about but as a model for the creative act itself.

Pound admired the way machines concentrated energy, with purpose and without ornament. So poetry should be written, reduced to instants of peak expression. Expository ligatures could go. Juxtapositions would speak for themselves. Though Pound's personality, even in his poems, was hardly reticent, and his lyric gift was exquisite, he was a connoisseur of objective technique. Kenner cites a Poundian appropriation of a Henry James trick and remarks:

> Such a manner is an indisputable comic invention, no more a pathology of James's personality than the light bulb is a pathology of Edison's. That you did not have to be James to use James's discoveries was something Pound proved by using them in a poem James wouldn't have understood. And as most of us switch on the light without thinking of Edison, so thousands have read the *Homage to Sextus Propertius* without entertaining a thought of the polysyllabic Master.

Kenner is entranced, not repelled, by the thought that even literature can be "mechanized," designed for greater efficiency: "Once we persuade ourselves that 'machine' need not connote iron nor hardware, that the word applies to any economical self-activating system for organizing resources, we can see mechanisms everywhere in the century, most impressive in the century's resourcefulness at organizing and making accessible all that could be ascertained about the record of human speech"—as in that "epic poem," the Oxford English Dictionary.

Joyce saw this. He was the first writer to grasp that he was in the business not of story-telling but of

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book production, and he adapted narrative accordingly. This also meant involving himself in the production process, right down to specifying and fighting for his own misprints, against the censorship of typesetters and proofreaders hell-bent on correctness. His obscenities have long since been accepted, but it was only in 1984 that Hans Walter Gabler's edition of *Ulysses* restored his typos.

Joyce baffled readers by writing a novel *à la* another "machine," the newspaper, which is a collection of discrete offerings that need not be read serially. Nobody expects a newspaper to have a single narrative voice, but we still find it hard to set aside the expectation thereof when we open what purports to be a novel. *Ulysses* also purports to be a pretty exhaustive record, right down to Mr. Bloom's expenditures for the day (with one discrepancy, noted by Kenner: Bloom conceals the amount he's spent at the brothel). Readers are still bedeviled by their own insistence on bringing the wrong reading habits to Joyce.

As in several earlier books, Kenner stresses Joyce's refusal to adopt the convention of the genteel narrator of English fiction, whose idiom (implicitly shared with the reader) is presumed "normal," while maids and laborers betray their class origins orthographically, as by dropping aitches. In availing himself of all the resources of print and misprint, in subtly fusing third-person narration with the consciousness of the character at hand, in abjuring any stable point of view, Joyce makes life tough for the complacent reader, but he also achieves "constructions intricate as any city, made of letters on lines, and haunted, and solely for the enticement of visitors."

The Mechanic Muse is a funny book; Kenner likes to shock, because he enjoys *being* shocked. All these vulgar gadgets the *literati* prefer to ignore (as French Classicists despised Shakespeare for mentioning pins in poetry) add up to a way of life. T. S. Eliot wasn't too snooty to notice that the alarm clock, the subway, and the internal-combustion engine had changed human experience in ways it behooved a poet to acknowledge. Kenner savors the pleasure of being startled by what they imply, as when he devotes three witty pages to explaining why *The Waste Land* is "a telephone poem, its multiple voices referrable to a massive short-circuit at the central exchange."

He finds an unsuspected affinity between the slapstick syntax of Samuel Beckett and the new computer languages, hilariously illuminated by a final chapter on Thomas Sprat of the Royal Society, who demanded the abolition of eloquence and a return to "the primitive Purity and Shortness, when Men deliver'd so many *Things*, almost in an equal Number of *Words*." When you finish laughing, you find yourself possessed by an idea you can't shake: that modern literature and technology interpenetrate more than anyone has guessed. □

INSPIRED INSIGHTS

Jeffrey Meyers

Collected Prose, by Robert Lowell (Farrar, 377 pp., $25)

ROBERT LOWELL had all the qualities of a major critic: intelligence, learning, judgment, style, taste, and wit. His *Collected Prose*, full of inspired insights, reveals an electric and energetic mind. This book confirms Lowell, along with the frenetically erudite John Berryman and the savagely brilliant Randall Jarrell, as the leading poet-critic of the postwar generation.

Lowell wrote a hundred reviews, tributes, memoirs, essays, statements, introductions, notes, and letters-to-the-editor between his first appearance in his prep-school magazine in 1935 and his death in 1977. His publisher, Robert Giroux, has selected forty of the best essays (six of them previously unpublished) and sensibly organized them into three categories: on fellow poets, on literary topics, and on Lowell himself. (The last section also contains two of Lowell's twenty interviews.)

Apart from two antiwar letters—to President Roosevelt and President Johnson—Lowell's political statements are not included, though his impassioned credos showed—for the first time since the death of Byron—that a poet's courageous conscience could influence public affairs. This book has a full cloth binding (which stains the fingers), but no index. The editor's source notes for the essays are both incomplete and inaccurate.

Lowell combined a Yankee and a Southern, a classical and a Catholic heritage. His early reviews established the characteristic pattern of his criticism: identification with the subject, placement in its literary tradition, reference to other critics, judgment of faults and achievement, positive—even generous—evaluation. He can epitomize a type, a work, or an author in a single gnomic expression. "Most scholars are not men of letters, but statisticians and warehouses"; poets "are little read, cause no sensations, and live on grants." Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* "is mostly a sort of dried cake frosting"; Milton's *Samson Agonistes* "is the last great English play in

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verse, the last great English tragedy in any form, the only great English play that cannot be acted."

The soft, bookish hands of Cotton Mather, the Salem witch-burner, "are indelibly stained with blood." Emerson "found life too long for comfort and too brief for perfecion." Thoreau, "a naturalist of the eternal, [had] the eternal always at his fingertips." The nonagenarian George Santayana "enjoyed writing his life much more than having lived it."

Lowell's essays were often self-reflective, and he saw a "redeeming shadow of darkness in just about every writer who had ever lived" in this hard, cracked world. Hawthorne was a being of "intermingled gloom and brightness"; Melville allowed "glimmers of genius to escape [his personal] darkness."

Lowell's memoirs of Ford, Frost, Eliot, Ransom, Jarrell, and Berryman —the best part of the book—recalled his teachers and intellectual development. His elegies were eulogies, suffused with affection. The tone was gentle, the emotions deeply engaged. Lowell was able to assume a filial and fraternal role, to praise his friends more freely because they were dead, and to portray character (including his

THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

SCARCELY A DAY passes without the appearance of a newspaper article or two concerning Mikhail Gorbachev, reform in the Soviet Union, and *glasnost*. However, an increasing number of Western scholars and observers of Soviet history are concluding that, in this instance, where there's smoke there's only more smoke. Take, for example, Gorbachev's recent speech to officials of the state-controlled unions for journalists, writers, and artists, in which the General Secretary, while refusing to promise anything specific in the way of increased freedom of expression, did remark that a greater tolerance would be accorded those who overstep the limits. In this case, even the Associated Press sounded skeptical; but the story would not have carried its fine taste of irony for me had I not just read a fascinating account, by Miklos K. Radvanyi, of the problems that modern communications and information technology pose for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

According to Radvanyi, Party officials believe computerization could lead to a Great Leap Forward toward the solution of many of the country's serious economic problems, without undermining the political power of the Kremlin's Party elite. They regard computerization, robotization, and the introduction of other high technology as a means of rendering themselves less dependent on the willingness of the proletariat to work; and yet the computer revolution poses a distinct and worrisome threat to another, older revolution, consolidated since 1917 on the principle of complete intellectual unfreedom. In the USSR, computer training has been introduced at a slow and carefully controlled rate, and a new centralized bureaucracy has been established to prevent the dangers of dynamism, rationalism, and individuality from getting out of hand.

The problem computerization poses for the Soviet system is more or less emblematic of the Soviet problem of reform, as discussed by Mr. Radvanyi in his booklet, *The Politics of Reform in the Soviet Union* (Council for Inter-American Security, 122 C Street, N.W., Suite 330, Washington, D.C. 20001; $3.50). Radvanyi, who was an attorney in Hungary before emigrating to the West, does not believe that either Gorbachev, the CPSU, or the Soviet Union at large (if there is in fact anyone at large there) will be able to effect even such modest reforms as—say—Hungary has been permitted to achieve:

> The world is moving in a direction not foreseen by the Kremlin's doctrinaire predictions. The Communist movement is unable and perhaps unwilling to follow the rest of the world toward a more productive and prosperous society. The gap between East and West will continue to widen. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union will view developments in the West with a mixture of hatred and admiration. For the world, the Kremlin's bewilderment and hostility in the face of all such important events will reflect the centuries-old tragedy of a political culture that, despite its emotional craving for a just and free society, has always resisted attempts at political modernization.

The question, ultimately, is one of initiative—or the lack of it. The Soviet system has been based, since its inception, on exclusive and absolute power, jealously guarded in the name of the "people" or the "masses" but in fact held for the sake of the Party, which is responsible only to itself. In fine sentences, Radvanyi writes: "Accordingly, the Party values loyalty and orthodoxy rather than innovation. It has produced no philosophy, no wealth, and no culture."

Nor does it wish to produce such things, being concerned only with fighting off challenges to its "vicious and reactionary rule": "Such a regime cannot adapt to new ways. Having no other political alternative, it must defend the old order. Internal changes within the existing Party elite temporarily defuse periodic conflicts. The elite changes either through death or replacement of members, or when the regime closes in on itself and invites political destruction and economic decay." What we are seeing today, with the Gorbachev "reform" movement, is simply a fight by which "a very small group of top leaders" is seeking to purge a group of secondary Party bureaucrats. Reform, in the Soviet Union, is finally an impossible hope, based as it is on "permanent, irresolvable, and therefore perpetually fluctuating contradictions."

There is no mention of Mr. Gorbachev's great and generous concessions of late in the matter of arms control but there are, at least, a few oblique asides to the wise pertaining to the subject, viz.:

> Few Westerners realize that the Kremlin is uncompromisingly hostile toward more than just a few negative phenomena found in democratic societies. It opposes the positive political, economic, social, and cultural aspects of Western life, since these features exercise such a powerful and dangerous fascination for those whose expectations for the society of abundance the Party elite repeatedly betrayed. This is not the traditional threat of a hostile nation seeking self-aggrandizement, but the never-ending aggressiveness of a regime whose primary political objective is to serve the elite's own interests, power, and privileges. □

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own) in novelistic scenes that brought his friends back to life.

Jarrell (a frequent critical touchstone in these essays) mocked Lowell's impressive pedigree and wrote: "I'm sure the Lowells have all sorts of [ancient] Egyptian connections, were, in the old days, Egyptians." But Lowell's ancestry was also a curse. His menaced and menacing musings on his family and frenzy, his melancholy expression of annihilating despair in the autobiographical essays—"Antebellum Boston" and "Near the Unbalanced Aquarium" —explore the darkness in the human spirit. "The strain brought about by his [father's] effort to make himself heroically nonexistent was extreme." His mother "was not one whose hand was stayed from destruction by sentiment." Their talented and troubled son, recovering in a mental hospital from a violent manic seizure, "suspected that [his] whole soul and its thousands of spiritual fibers, immaterial ganglia, apprehensive antennae, psychic radar, had been bruised by a rubber hose." □

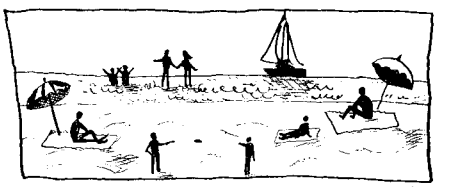
DIONYSUS SUPERSTAR

John Wooten

The Triumph of Vulgarity: Rock Music in the Mirror of Romanticism, by Robert Pattison (Oxford, 280 pp., $19.95)

THIS IS THE most brilliant study yet written of the modern phenomenon of rock music, although Robert Pattison attempts at the end of his book to avoid the logic of his own totally convincing analysis of what makes rock the extremely dangerous cultural force it is. But despite Pattison's intentions, this book will provide the critics of rock music with their most serious intellectual ammunition to date in the hugely ineffective war against rock that has until now been waged mainly by such religious fundamentalists as Jimmy Swaggart.

Pattison's thesis is that rock musicians have inherited the still-compelling power of nineteenth-century Romantic pantheism and primitivism, and with it have crafted a contagious vulgarity that now infects Western culture at large. Specifically the pantheism of Romanticism and rock, like all pantheism that lives up to its name, rejects every assertion of the existence of transcendence, and resists all attempts to appropriate its own energies for transcendent purposes:



> Some dreamers have hoped to harness rock to propagate the values of transcendent ideologies. Populist Catholics sponsor rock Masses, trendy educators produce textbooks using rock lyrics as a vehicle for inculcating traditional values, various Protestant denominations commandeer the airwaves on Sunday mornings to broadcast uplifting advice larded with rock songs to make the message palatable to young ears, and the idea for the grotesquely misnamed rock opera *Jesus Christ Superstar* originated with an Anglican priest and was blessed by the Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral. But rock is useless to teach any transcendent value. . . . The rocker is simultaneously alone with himself and at one with the universe. No intermediate state of transcendence such as Christianity . . . preaches is likely to appeal to him. He takes his pantheism neat.

Jimmy Swaggart is right, then, but for more sophisticated reasons than he knows.

One of Pattison's most daring efforts is to deny rock mythology's premise that the roots of rock can be located in an attractively primitive black culture. If any part of his book will bring opprobrium upon him from rock's admirers, it is this one, wherein Pattison makes clear that rock is a white Romantic's imperialistic appropriation of black music. Pattison also demonstrates that rock's Southern birthplace was no accident but rather a necessary condition for the inversion of the Southern racist taboo about the rape of whites by aboriginal, animalistic blacks.

> The myth by which black music rocked its white audience with a steady roll depicts a musical rape. The black man takes the pallid soul of white America by force. In the rock myth white America responds to this rape much as white Southern ladies of crass humor are said to do in similar circumstances. Initial protests of violation quickly give way to moans of ecstasy.

It is entirely characteristic of Pattison's eclecticism that, at this point, he alludes to Euripides' *The Bacchae*, the drama of the triumph of Dionysus over the unworshipping Pentheus. The Dionysian black primitive is the idol of white worship in rock's mythologizing. Thus, as Pattison says, Sam Phillips's famous comment—"If I could find a white boy who could sing like a nigger, I could make a million dollars"—explains what Phillips was doing when he discovered Elvis Presley and thus launched rock music: He knew that no other group was so suitable for whites' Romantic fantasies as the "primitive" black.

What is shattering in Pattison's analysis is the spectacle of a society pitching itself headlong into the abyss of vulgarized Romantic thought. The catalyst for this act of cultural self-annihilation is, as Pattison persuasively argues, the dangerously solipsistic view of self and world that lies at the heart of Romanticism, at the heart of rock, and, by extension, at the heart of contemporary American culture itself: "Rock asserts that everything the senses apprehend is properly part of self, and the object of selfhood is to reach full growth, when self becomes synonymous with the universe. . . . Solipsism is the invariable mental disposition of the vulgar pantheist, because in solipsism there is no transcendent anything, only infinite me." When this "me" becomes the typical view of self in the land, then one has reason to worry about the ultimate survival of a nation whose children wander the edges of the abyss of self into which such pathetic and tragic rock "heroes" as Janis Joplin, Brian Jones, Jimi Hendrix, Jim Morrison, Sid Vicious, and Elvis Presley have thrown themselves.

It is all the more astonishing, therefore, that, at the end of *The Triumph of Vulgarity*, Pattison discounts the dangers inherent in the ideas he has so brilliantly analyzed. He lamely concludes that rock is "a mythical phenomenon with little direct effect on ordinary behavior," and in support of this unconvincing reassurance he states: "Within its mythology rock does glorify sex, drugs, revolution, and mayhem in general as legitimate avenues of self-expression, but if rock's myths were invariably translated into actions, the West would long since have sunk into anarchy." Pattison offers the weak hope that because the vulgar American

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Romantic Walt Whitman was "a model of kindness, decency, and toleration," rock too may be: "There is no reason to think that rock's vulgar solipsism lacks the moral rectitude of its Romantic predecessors, and every reason to suspect that the charges of immorality against it rise from the threat rock poses to the systems of transcendent objectivity espoused by its accusers."

Quite. Transcendent objectivity is the issue, and Pattison's declaration of allegiance to the modern subjectivist creed—he openly belittles the "fiction of transcendence" while embracing "the wholesome chaos of the mind"—creates an intellectual chasm into which his book spins as it concludes in this inane finale: "Vulgarity is here to stay. In a world turning to the vulgar music of democracy, might not criticism, I do not say approve, but at least examine, the dazzling progeny of America's democratic premises? Or what's a revolution for?" One can only hope that Pattison will examine more critically the ineffectual bromides he offers at the end of an otherwise brilliant book, and that he will learn to fathom the inevitably destructive solipsism that he rightly sees as central to rock, but wrongly asserts is the ultimate truth of our lives. □

FILM

TWICE-BITTEN BULLET

John Simon

In his *Esquisse d'une psychologie du cinéma* (1976), André Malraux wrote: "The silent film knew sections [*les parties*]; the sound film no longer knows them, and editors encounter a permanent obstacle there. For the sound film does not want empty spaces and gives narrative continuity pride of place among its means of conveying action." I am always leery of theory, even if it calls itself psychology, and I don't know whether I would agree with Malraux in a blanket way; yet his statement surely applies to Stanley Kubrick's *Full Metal Jacket*, a film in two sections that falls apart largely because of that bipartite construction.

Though I haven't read Gustav Hasford's Vietnam novel, *The Short-Timers*, on which the film is based (screenplay by Kubrick, Michael Herr—the author of *Dispatches*—and Hasford), I gather that it has the same structure. This is a film based, in effect, on two novellas. One shows how a group of Marine recruits on Parris Island gets the basest kind of basic training from the relentlessly jeering, physically brutalizing, and probably sadistic gunnery sergeant, Hartman. The principals are Hartman; an unfortunate overweight recruit whom Hartman renames, as he does everyone in some cruel way, Pyle—after Gomer, but with a scatological pun; and Private (also renamed) Joker, whose wits and savvy make Hartman appoint him squad leader, and who is clearly Hasford's alter ego.

Of these three, only Joker shows up again in the longer second part, which concerns an incident during the Tet offensive; even of the lesser characters, only one or two reappear to continue being lesser. It has been argued that just as a book can consist of two related novellas, so can a movie. But a book is not consumed like a movie: in one continuous sitting and at its own imposed tempo—an unbroken impetus providing that kind of Aristotelian unity needed to keep our attention from flagging. There have been movies made up of separate tales—e.g., the ones based on three or four Maugham stories—but where are they now? Kubrick, however, wants to play for keeps. And three or four unrelated tales may even work slightly better than two that lay claim to an obscure, elusive connection.

And a connection can be forced onto the film: that the second part shows the former recruits as the efficient, ruthless combat machines they have been turned into. However (unlike, I hear, in the book), the connection does not arise from within, nor is it demonstrated that the most brutal soldiers fare better (or worse) than the others. And yet *Full Metal Jacket*—the very title, literally referring to the hard-metal coating over the soft lead core of a bullet, is mainly symbolic—comes across as a film that desperately wants to make a statement, if only it knew what.

The 45-minute opening section chronicles how Pyle is bullied from an inept meatball into a defective killing machine that devastates the wrong targets. This grimly ironic warning about the double-edgedness of violence was already well known to Hannibal when his fighting elephants turned around and trampled his own men. To make this come across freshly and plausibly, Pyle should not have been so grossly overweight and underbrained that he never would have made the Marine Corps: unable to make his bed, lace his boots, do a few pushups. And Sergeant Hartman (well played, and partly improvised, by a genuine Marine veteran, Lee Ermey) is too unrelievedly beastly, which may be true to life but won't quite do as art. (Well, Iago, of course; but, except to himself perhaps, Kubrick isn't Shakespeare.) As for Joker, he comes perilously close to being a cipher. Hence the supposedly tragic climax of this section provides no more than some melodramatic horror, however artfully managed.

Yes, the cinematography by Douglas Milsome and Kubrick's way of shooting the grueling bestialization and sexual infantilization of the men in boot camp have suggestions—with the color-drained palette and extreme, head-on closeups, as well as obsessive Steadicam dogging shots (what else can I call them?)—of a perverted training film or a slightly unhinged documentary. But what do such touches, as well as some horrific bits of black humor, contribute when appended to characters who do not possess something that, however black or blackly humorous, can be called a soul? And it is quite a *tour de force* to have most of the first section's dialogue be a viciously comic series of insult monologues of Hartman's, sparing no one, not even Jesus Christ, as the sergeant leads his "maggots" in a mock Christmas carol. But what good is this if he doesn't have even as much humanity as his counterparts in such B or C movies as *An Officer and a Gentleman* and *Heartbreak Ridge*?

The film lacks a human center. For in the second section, things are similarly lopsided. Joker is first seen as a *Stars and Stripes* reporter in what promises to be an interesting sendup of military journalism, but forthwith he is off to cover the Tet offensive, and we get the routine battlefield satire. Joker has "BORN TO KILL" emblazoned on his helmet, but his fatigues display a peace button. When an irate senior officer asks the meaning of such political Janus-headedness,

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he gets a wise-guy answer: "The duality of man. The Jungian thing, Sir." "Whaat??" There is a variety of sick jokes: "Inside every gook, there is an American trying to get out." Or: "How do you manage to shoot women and children?" "Easy. You don't lead them so far." Or, translated into action, a soldier from a helicopter grinningly shooting peasants at work while his buddy next to him vomits. And there is a whole contrived sequence in which documentary filmmakers interview front-line soldiers about what they are fighting for and get answers such as, "Freedom? If I'm going to get my balls shot off for a word, it will be 'poontang.' "

Finally Joker joins a mission (it used to be called "search and destroy," but has just been euphemized into "sweep and clear") with a squad containing one of his boot-camp buddies. Here things get exciting, and the encounter with a diabolically skillful sniper in the ruins of Hué, who kills any number of the men by installments, is staged and photographed with enormous skill, suspense, and terror; but the ending (which, alas, I must not reveal) presents a supposed dilemma that is no dilemma at all, merely a belated attempt to cram some specious humanity into a film that, shall we say, misfires.

For this is Kubrick's fatal flaw: He is a master technician, but at a loss when it comes to people. In his earlier movies, there was sporadic, rudimentary feeling for human beings; the later ones, however, showed no such concern, down to their very casting, e.g., in *Barry Lyndon*: Can one really empathize with the marital problems of the likes of Ryan O'Neal and Marisa Berenson? In *Full Metal Jacket*, Vincent D'Onofrio is good enough to make us commiserate with Pyle, compulsively smiling while being abused, then abused some more for smiling. But gifted as Matthew Modine is, Joker does not command an emotional response: The part has no depth, no reverberation, no meaning. When soldiers die, the piercing bullets and gushing blood are reproduced with chilling authenticity, but eliciting shudders is not the same as eliciting pity.

And what makes Kubrick shoot this film in a war-ravaged English slum, furbished with two hundred palm trees imported from Spain, rather than on some authentic location? Is it laziness, arrogance, or insecurity? He cannot show us jungle warfare, and even the architecture and climate, the very texture of this war, is askew, compromised. The aim may be greater universality, so to speak, but the result is a certain depersonalization. Even the daintily built but war-hardened Vietnamese whores, and our boys' reaction to them, are viewed too superficially; they seem as adventitious as the scattered street and storefront signs, intended as earnests of topographical authenticity. Probably the most original contribution Kubrick makes is the shoddy pop-rock score with which he deliberately further debases the action. At crucial moments we get "Woolly Bully" performed by Sam the Sham and the Pharoahs (*sic*), "Surfin' Bird" by The Trashmen, and such.

Kubrick's main achievement in his films, early and late, has been a sense of alienation, most clearly felt in *Dr. Strangelove*, *2001*, and *A Clockwork Orange*. I do not knock this: Alienation is certainly a major, perhaps even *the* major, element in our recent history. And portents suggest that it is here to stay, provided only that we do. But no matter how effectively Kubrick portrays the murderous robotization of Parris Island, no matter how swinishly alienated some of those "animal mothers" in Vietnam appear, whether they're killing or joking, I never feel—and neither, I bet, does the audience—the essential *de te fabula narrat*. From the reaction of moviegoers around me, I concluded that so far from recognizing themselves in these characters, they did not even recognize the bestiality as bestiality. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Daylight and Nightmare: Uncollected Stories and Fables, by G. K. Chesterton, edited by Marie Smith (Dodd, Mead, 144 pp., $14.95)

CULLED FROM the pages of *G. K.'s Weekly*, the old *Daily News*, and several other hard-to-obtain sources, 32 of Chesterton's short works of fiction, few of them previously collected, are brought together in *Daylight and Nightmare*. And to the reader's delight, most of these pieces bear the postmark of their author's undisputed domain, Topsy-Turvydom. Mooncalves,

dragons, and galloping nightmares appear herein, as do sword-wielding cavaliers, medieval knights, and Chesterton's favorite modern grotesques: the vapid, complacent English aristocrat (in "Dukes") and the pushy American go-getter (in "The Paradise of Human Fishes"). Mere creatures of appetite, devoid of faith, hope, and charity, these last two stand in marked contrast to the perfectly sane man, who, as Chesterton presents him in this collection and throughout his canon, will appear to the great mass of men as a threat and a lunatic. Refusing to worship the spirit of the age, he is at sword's point with the ruthless innovator and the snuffling votary of what Owen Barfield has called "chronological parochialism"—the belief that all preceding eras of history and culture were not only vastly different from one's own, but vastly inferior as well. In "A Nightmare," the narrator records how a gathering of such self-appointed sages contrives to "straighten" the dome of St. Paul's. Having seen this architectural feat accomplished, the narrator hears the gripe of the perpetual reformer: " 'Do you not see,' he whispered, 'the sky is crooked?' " Here and throughout the book are distant but delicious rumors of themes addressed more fully in Chesterton's better-known books, notably *The Man Who Was Thursday* and *The Everlasting Man*. And all the familiar thematic threads lead to that central paradox that awed Chesterton to the end of his days: "that it is he who has really gone round the whole world who is anxious to come home; that the end of wisdom is the beginning of life; and that God Himself bowed down to enter a narrow door, in the hour when the Word was made flesh."

JAMES E. PERSON JR.

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SOME QUESTIONS FOR THE DEMOCRATS

NEW YORK, JULY 17

WHEN, LAST MONTH, the seven Democratic presidential candidates unfolded their wares, one learned that they are very heavy this season in opposition to aid to the Contras, in opposition to the Strategic Defense Initiative, and in opposition to our unfavorable balance of trade, concerning a remedy for which there is a rough division between all-out protectionists and easy-does-it candidates who, like Governor Dukakis of Massachusetts, aren't any more eager to discourage foreign consumption of Massachusetts products than Senator Kennedy is anxious to bring peace in our time by closing down military installations in Massachusetts.

These political positions are the heavy hitters of the political season, and they provoked a bouncy intellectual, whose specialty is the (perverse) behavior of the brain, into phrasing, and sending along, what he would propose as a questionnaire for aspirant Democratic Presidents. I pass it along, here and there lightly reshaped, as of general interest . . .

Health: Professor Stephen Jay Gould of Harvard has written in the *New York Times* that AIDS could well be the next plague, wiping out some 25 per cent of the human race. At what point would you recognize AIDS as the public-health menace it is and urge an easing off from certain civil-liberties positions? For instance, demanding public testing, and the disclosure of those test results, giving primary attention to the question of public health?

Education: Do you believe the public-school system should take on the task of teaching ethics? Given the breakdown of the family, millions of schoolchildren are uninformed even about the concept of right and wrong. Can such matters become an object of public education, and if not, why?

International Matters: At what point, if any, in Central America are you willing to draw the line against Soviet militarization? Would you, for instance, commit yourself to using force to defend democracy in Costa Rica? Speaking for the Democratic Party several years ago, Senator Christopher Dodd said that it would not permit a fresh satellization (meaning, beyond Cuba) within the hemisphere. How are we going to see to it that this doesn't happen?

Theory: The traditional association of the Democratic Party with the notion that public spending is the key to well-being is challenged by existing paradoxes (lots of welfare, lots of poverty; lots of education, lots of ignorance; lots of public health care, lots of bad health). Question: What might be done concretely to break the poverty cycle? Do you believe in workfare, and if so, in what kind of workfare? Is there a psychological dependency that follows government intrusion into professional life over protracted periods, e.g., the gradual federalization of agriculture?

Security: Is there a workable compromise between the position of the congressional group that wants to run foreign policy and the executive group that believes Congress is simply a nuisance where the development of foreign policy is concerned? As things now stand, the Executive is resorting to ways and means of accomplishing what it understands to be its responsibilities, and we have such messes as the current hearings incarnate. Does the Democratic Party want to associate itself flat out with, e.g., the War Powers Act? Is there room, within the councils of the Democratic Party, for debate on the division of responsibility between the two branches of government?

. . . My articulate friend holds on to the idea that national debate ought to precede national decisions, and that what we are getting now is more nearly attitudinizing ("don't blacken the skies with nuclear warheads") than thought. Whatever his own predispositions on the questions raised, the Republic has a great deal to lose from frozen attitudes toward public issues: such an attitude as, for instance, Senator Biden has adopted in respect of the qualifications of Robert Bork to serve on the Supreme Court. But to pry discussion from the zealots who tend to command the action at the political-primary level requires that we acknowledge that now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of the party. □

BLACK THOUGHT, BLACK TALK

NEW YORK, JULY 13

LISTEN CAREFULLY, I beg you, to these two or three sentences written by an English teacher (C. Webster Wheelock) in Manhattan and published as a part of an essay in the *New York Times* on "Our Incredible Shrinking Language." They teach more than most of the rhetoricians you will hear from now to the end of the year.

"I recently sat through," the teacher begins, "a graduation ceremony in which one of the speakers used the adjective 'incredible' four times and its synonym 'unbelievable' once. . . . Why did he appear to suggest by his choice of language that the accomplishments in question went beyond the laudable to the improbable? . . . And why did all of us listening to him easily and automatically discount the value of the expressions he had selected? . . . The answer lies in the steady erosion of power in an important part of our language over recent decades."

The English teacher is concerned over implausible raves. They are the treacly counterpart of their opposite, which are implausible negatives; except that these do more damage because they are based on bile. What Senator Edward Kennedy said about the nomination of Robert Bork as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court should drum him out of the councils of civilized men engaged in democratic exchange. It will take more than just one book by Arthur Schlesinger Jr. to clean up this act.

"Robert Bork's America," said Senator Kennedy, quoted in large type in the issue of the *New York Times* published the day before the lesson from the English teacher, "is a land in which women would be forced into back-alley abortions, blacks would sit at segregated lunch counters,

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rogue police could break down citizens' doors in midnight raids . . ."

Now either Senator Kennedy was drunk when he uttered these lines, in which case he should not drink before he drives or orates; or else he has proved as irresponsible as any demagogue in the recent history of the United States. It is hard to imagine anyone in this century—Bilbo, Smith, McCarthy, Coughlin—coming up with charges so withered in distortion and malice.

Consider the question of abortion. If Bork voted to reverse *Roe* v. *Wade*, he would need four other judges whose consciences instructed them that it was a bad constitutional decision. Does it then follow that women would be forced into back-alley abortions? Only if the solid majority of the American people went on to urge their legislatures to write anti-abortion laws. Kennedy knows as well as Planned Parenthood Inc. that that would not happen. To withdraw the license of *Roe* v. *Wade* is not to illegalize abortion.

And why would blacks sit at segregated lunch counters? Where has Robert Bork defended Jim Crow? He was always opposed to state laws enforcing racial segregation, which is different from upholding the right of the state to prescribe conduct; though even on this point, the libertarian Bork is at one these days with the overwhelming majority of the voters, who would kick out of office anyone suggesting any return even to Jim Crow privately administered at one's own hot-dog stand.

What has Bork said that would give to rogue police the right to break down citizens' doors in midnight raids? And while we are at it, when police do break down citizens' doors in midnight raids, what is there inherently to convince us that they are rogue police? Might they be answering a woman's cry against a rapist or a murderer? And what other four Supreme Court Justices, and which of the fifty state legislatures, are going to start a campaign to give license to rogue police?

But this is heady business, this victimology by which some irresponsible men and women prosper. Benjamin Hooks, the head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who fancies himself engaged in the promotion of toleration in America, proclaims that Bork "would in effect wipe out all of our gains of the past thirty years."

That would be an extraordinary commission. Somebody should inform Teddy Kennedy and Ben Hooks that Bork is not being nominated dictator of a brand-new country; that not one Supreme Court decision has overthrown any single one of the one hundred decisions Bork has written in his five years as federal judge; and that if, in their nightmare, he was nominated and approved as dictator, Robert Bork would not wish to transform the face of America in the image of Hieronymus Bosch. The voters should be reminded that such as Kennedy and Hooks are heavily engaged in attempting to transform a land of civil and vigorous discourse into a republic of slander. And that slander, which includes the abdication of reason and conscience, is, as Orwell taught, the road to totalitarianism. Kennedy's vituperation of Bork is of a class with Goebbels's vituperation of the Jews. □

NEXT STEP FOR NORTH?

NEW YORK, JULY 15

REFLECTIONS ON the testimony of Colonel North give rise to thoughts grave and not so grave, and these last for the moment occupy the mind. "What were you using the shredder for?" an inquisitor asked early in the proceedings. What a joy . . .

A long time ago, I read the essay by Robert Benchley in which he externalized his fantasy—the witness in the murder trial. It went something like this:

"Well, now, Mr. Benchley, what time was it you say you heard the shot?"

"Two thirty-seven."

Prosecutor (smug expression of satisfaction aimed at the jury): "And how do you know, Mr. Benchley, that it was two thirty-seven?"

"I looked at my watch."

The prosecutor (a little more slowly this time): "And why did you look at your watch?"

"To see what time it was."

. . . Well, it wasn't exactly that neat, but damned near, when Colonel North said that the reason they have shredders in the National Security Council offices is in order to shred things. It was in the category of the why-do-you-rob-banks question, the answer to which made Willie Sutton famous. But, inevitably, the levity blurred into the major question, the untangleability of which is what is going to doom these long proceedings to ultimate meaninglessness. Because the salient question, the only question, is: Ought this particular document to have been shredded? Or ought it to have been saved, in order to assist a congressional investigator, or a special prosecutor, to do his job?

But such questions are not reasonably put to such as Colonel North, and not that easily put even to those with higher positions of responsibility than Colonel North exercised. He tended to rely on rather obvious answers: That the material he was shredding involved, among other things, the identities of persons whose lives hung on confidentiality. Obviously one is going to destroy such a document as that. But from something as obvious as that the line begins to move: and the question then arises, Does that line reach a point, readily discernible, where the balance changes, and the burden is overwhelmingly on the shredder?

One can without any problem conceive of a hypothetical situation in which that would be so. "Memo to Colonel North: While Congressman B. Grande was in Rome, Operative X slipped him a thousand bucks in return for his promise to change his vote next time around on the Boland Amendment." Fiction yields up such stuff, and so does life; but busy operating agents engaged in covert operations can't reasonably be asked to come up with the relevant perspective. What may seem an entirely innocent document may prove, in certain circumstances, to be dynamite. Richard Nixon discovered that. In what direction should someone engaged in intelligence operations lean? Colonel North, when asked if his motives had been political, made the mistake, on one occasion, of saying, "Yes." He should have said that the objectives—political and strategic—were in many cases indistinguishable.

Heavy questions have been raised, and not all of them will be answered. But the question that is attracting the least public attention is really this: Should the Commander-in-Chief of the United States have done everything constitutionally possible to help to defend hemispheric interests from further satellization by the Soviet Union?

ON THIS POINT there are two distinct camps, and Colonel North is the most visible public activist standing behind the position that, yes, we should have helped the Contras, we should continue to help the Contras, and we should be proud to do so. His public support is very extensive. It goes, I judge, beyond his telegenic manners. He is a spokesman of a position that has been mealy-mouthed to death by the ambiguists, who tend to try to run our foreign policy from Congress; the kind of people so articulately and eloquently abhorred by Daniel Patrick Moynihan while he served in the UN, whose ranks he went on, alas, to join.

Which brings me to a fresher proposal than anything likely to come out of the hearings in Washington. Oliver North was raised in New York—upstate somewhere.

When this is over, which will be not too far off, why doesn't he run for senator? Run on a clear hard-defense-line position? The reaffirmation of the Monroe Doctrine, if you want to think big. Let him and Pat Moynihan debate that issue, and see what the voters of New York tell us. Probably they will say that the reason we have elections is to vote people in and out of office. □

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OCEAN VILLAGE on Hutchinson Island, Fort Pierce, Fla. Relax and spend your summer vacation in uncompromised luxury at Florida's finest resort community. Everything's at your doorstep: golf, tennis, pools, surf-fishing, award-winning restaurant, and over 20 miles of unspoiled Atlantic beach. Spacious, elegant 2- and 3-bedroom oceanfront corner-unit residences with magnificent views, set in a tranquil tropical village by the sea, within 2 hours of all major attractions. $450–$500 weekly, Box 15398, Asheville, N.C. 28813. 704-274-2764.

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Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

RING LARDNER:

Take Note

A good many young writers make the mistake of enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope, big enough for the manuscript to come back in. This is too much of a temptation to the editor.

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ROYAL PLAZA SUITES. Pompano Beach, Fla. Clean, quiet, secure. Efficiency, 1-bedroom, 2-bedroom apartments. Daily, weekly, monthly. Business, vacation. Information, brochure, call 800-227-0827. In Florida, 800-330-2190.

OLD-FASHIONED SECLUDED FARM on Cape Breton Island offers log cabins, excellent meals, tranquility, and discount to *NR* readers. Write: John Gardner, Orangedale, Nova Scotia, Canada.

Real Estate

BUCKS COUNTY, PA. 1774 house, barn; garage with apartment; 110 acres. 302-239-4235.

Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

SLIGHTLY IMPERFECT computer professional, 36, west coast of Florida, looking to climb out of shell with Right Woman. Interests are fine arts, science, history, theology (Anglican), politics, and bicycling. Seeking to share participation in life! Write NR Box 5011.

PULCHRITUDINOUS PROFESSIONAL WOMAN, 40s, painter/poet (published), politically conservative, combining femininity with intelligence most harmoniously—loves Native American philosophy, the woods, dancing—seeks "Renaissance Man" of action and culture, highly successful (six figure minimum), with courage, integrity, and a flair for living—to share love of great books and music, city evenings of elegance, and the joy of life with, as foundation to possible serious, long-term relationship. (East Coast.) Write NR Box 5012.

UNBELIEVABLY CHARMING, perky woman, 24, of great intelligence and physical beauty, desires to meet well-educated young man, 27–33, who can join her in the manner to which she has become accustomed . . . skiing in Switzerland, yachting off Newport, long walks on the beach, spontaneous fun, and Italian cuisine. Write NR Box 5013.

CATHOLIC WIDOW, 84, seeks companions for travel, vacationing, and possible home-sharing. Interested in music, politics, gardening. After five years abroad, needs to build new "network." Write NR Box 5014.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA: Writer with hillside overlooking vineyards looking for pretty young thing who would love being barefoot and pregnant in the wine country. Old-fashioned values and taste for zinfandel essential. Write NR Box 4493.

SAN DIEGO ATTORNEY, conservative, male, 29. Interests include reading, *NR*, swimming, and good conversation. Seeks like-minded, intelligent female. Write NR Box 4497.

SCANDINAVIA-U.S.A.–AUSTRALIA: Network of members seeking enlightened correspondence, lasting friendship. Scanna, Box 4-HNR, Pittsford, N.Y. 14534.

CALIFORNIA-AREA NAVAL OFFICER, Catholic, single, never married. Enjoys music, tennis, and outdoors. Seeks very attractive, preferably petite, professional, educated, empathetic (preferably in a helping occupation) female, 27–33. Photo requested. Write NR Box 4492.

MY BEAUTIFUL, CHICAGO-BASED, 25-year-old sister (blond hair, blue eyes, flight attendant) has had trouble, in today's permissive society, meeting someone with traditional Christian values for long-term relationship and possible marriage. Interests include travel, photography, sports. Seeking someone handsome, settled, conservative, believer in traditional family values and ethics. Please write and send picture to NR Box 4498.

PROFESSIONAL ARMY OFFICER, 30, 6'3", 210 lbs., brown hair, green eyes, never married, enjoys triathlons, outdoors, movies, reading, and general exploration, wishes to meet single, never-married woman age 24–32 for correspondence, possible relationship. Photo preferred. Write NR Box 5004.

ARE YOU CULTURED and single? Single Booklovers was started in 1970 to help cultured singles get acquainted through a monthly national newsletter. Write SBL, Box 117NR, Gradyville, Pa. 19039, or call 215-358-5049.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE. Nationwide link between unattached music lovers. CMLE, Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803.

Miscellaneous

PEOPLE WITH BUSINESS and financial background wanted to serve as advisors to board of trustees for a tax-exempt foundation devoted to the study of spiritual traditions. Special attention to the insights of Eric Voegelin. Our first project is a PBS documentary with CBS correspondent Bill Kurtis. Nonsectarian. Send résumé to: Foundation for Faith in Search of Understanding, 2573 North Clark Street, #1, Chicago, Ill. 60614. Phone: 312-883-8859.

GUARANTEED 10% on your investment. Young professional, Roman Catholic family man, seeks construction loan for owner-occupied historical rehabilitation project. $120,000, no points, 1- to 5-year negotiable balloon. 401-751-0507.

THE FLIGHT OF THOUGHT—paperback edition, $9.50. Photographic evidence of a realm beyond the physical domain. New philosophical concepts are examined as a result of an extended nature. A must for those who wish to be well informed. Eagle Press, 3315 Sacramento Street, Suite 427, San Francisco, Calif. 94118.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS IN DEPTH. Send full page of writing and $20 to Elisabeth King, 121 Madison Avenue, 3A, New York, N.Y. 10016.

SERIOUS BIBLE STUDY in Manhattan, Presbyterian-Reformed perspective. Tuesday evenings; also, Wall Street lunchtime study. Information: 718-332-4444.

1928-PRAYER-BOOK SERVICES. St. Barnabas' United Episcopal Church, Ambler, Pa. (N.W. Philadelphia area). 215-836-2184.

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TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

DEFINITIONS

A. Lord slain by terrorists — 10 2 106 49 96 145 25 77 116 61 37

B. Muck's partner — 8 141 46 83

C. Iran-Contra figure (full name) — 113 99 36 73 28 52 120 15 91 65 82

D. Like some novels — 21 5 140 59 107 127 69 92

E. Important number to Ray Charles (hyph.) — 93 119 20 78 137 118 48 146 33 110 60

F. Descriptive of Williamsburg, Virginia — 148 135 14 51 98 88 31 71

G. Leave far behind — 90 129 38 108 149 23 109 63 32 123 7

H. Like an unadorned painting — 144 40 16 104 79 6 57 68

I. One kind of cruise — 4 42 103 30 74 54 18 62 101

J. Cause's partner — 67 1 89 55 44 142

K. One kind of cowboy — 56 128 114 102 147 81 35 13 22

L. Husband to Eurydice — 105 47 126 66 12 134 95

M. Stricken — 29 121 72 34 136 9 112 41 87 130

N. Muleheaded — 85 50 125 26 58 97 117 19

O. Soviet city near Lake Baikal — 100 27 124 45 80 143 131

P. Circulation manager's quarry — 132 84 133 64 17 3 122 138 43 75

Q. Ethiopia, *formerly* — 86 11 139 70 24 94 115 39 53

R. "___ Olde Shoppe" — 76 111

				1 J	2 A	3 P		4 I	5 D	6 H	7 G		8 B	9 M	10 A	11 Q	12 L	13 K	14 F
	15 C	16 H		17 P	18 I	19 N	20 E	21 D	22 K	23 G	24 Q		25 A		26 N	27 O	28 C	29 M	30 I
31 F	32 G	33 E		34 M	35 K	36 C	37 A	38 G		39 Q	40 H		41 M	42 I	43 P		44 J	45 O	46 B
47 L	48 E	49 A	50 N		51 F	52 C	53 Q	54 I	55 J		56 K	57 H	58 N	59 D	60 E	61 A		62 I	63 G
64 P		65 C	66 L	67 J		68 H	69 D	70 Q	71 F	72 M	73 C	74 I	75 P	76 R		77 A	78 E	79 H	80 O
	81 K	82 C	83 B		84 P		85 N		86 Q	87 M	88 F		89 J	90 G	91 C	92 D	93 E		94 Q
95 L		96 A	97 N	98 F	99 C	100O	101I	102K		103I	104H	105L	106A	107D	108G		109G	110E	111R
	112M	113C	114K	115Q	116A	117N	118E		119E	120C		121M	122P	123G	124O	125N	126L		127D
128K	129G	130M	131O	132P		133P	134L	135F	136M	137E		138P	139Q		140D	141B	142J	143O	144H
145A	146E	147K	148F	149G															

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 56 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

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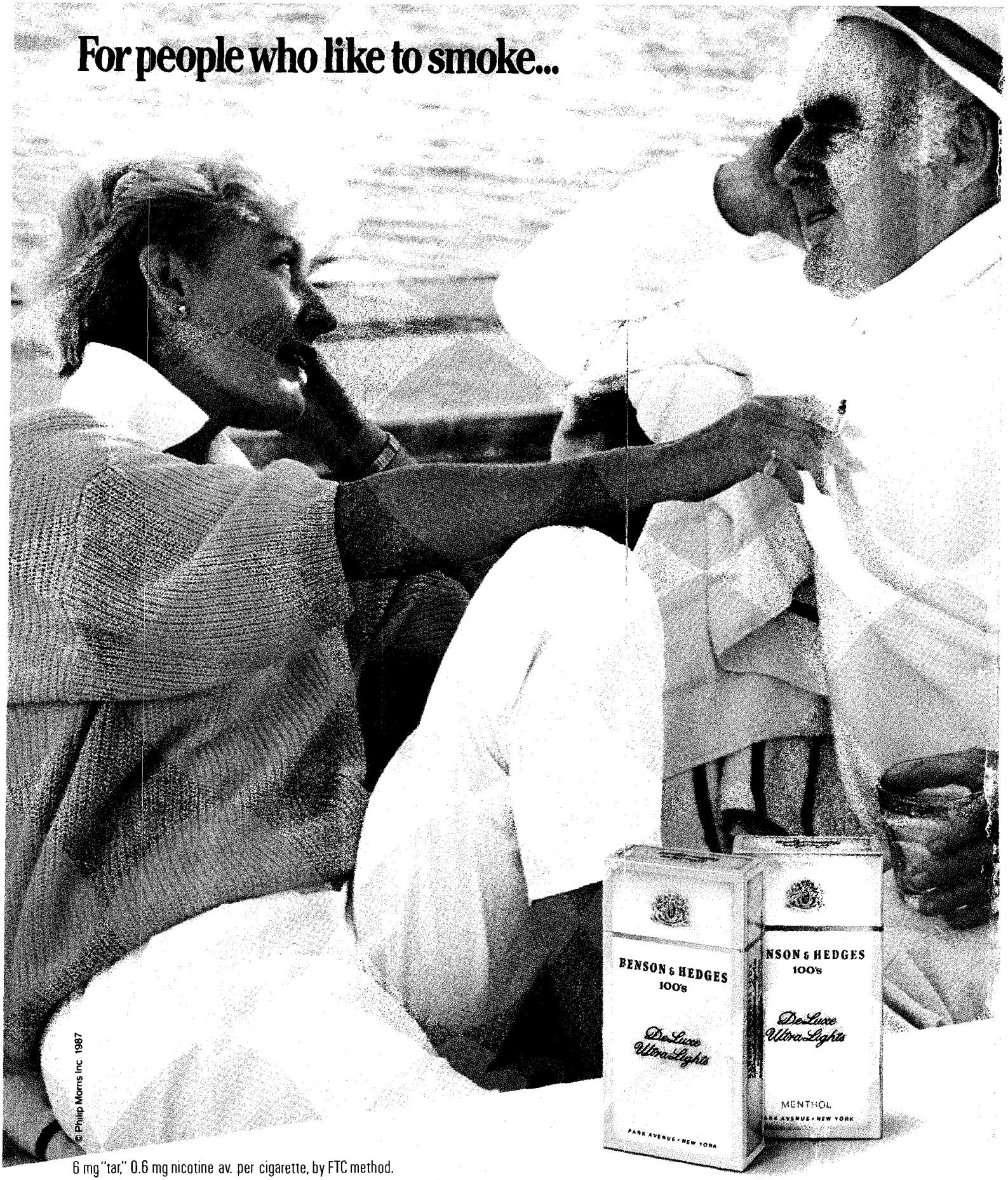

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